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People in Motion
The Postwar Adjustment of
the Evacuated Japanese Americans

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

WAR AGENCY LIQUIDATION UNIT

formerly

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

6695

U.S. Dept. of the Interior
State - D.

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United States Department of the Interior

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J. A. KRUG, *Secretary*

WAR AGENCY LIQUIDATION UNIT

formerly

War Relocation Authority

R. K. CANDLIN, *Acting Chief*

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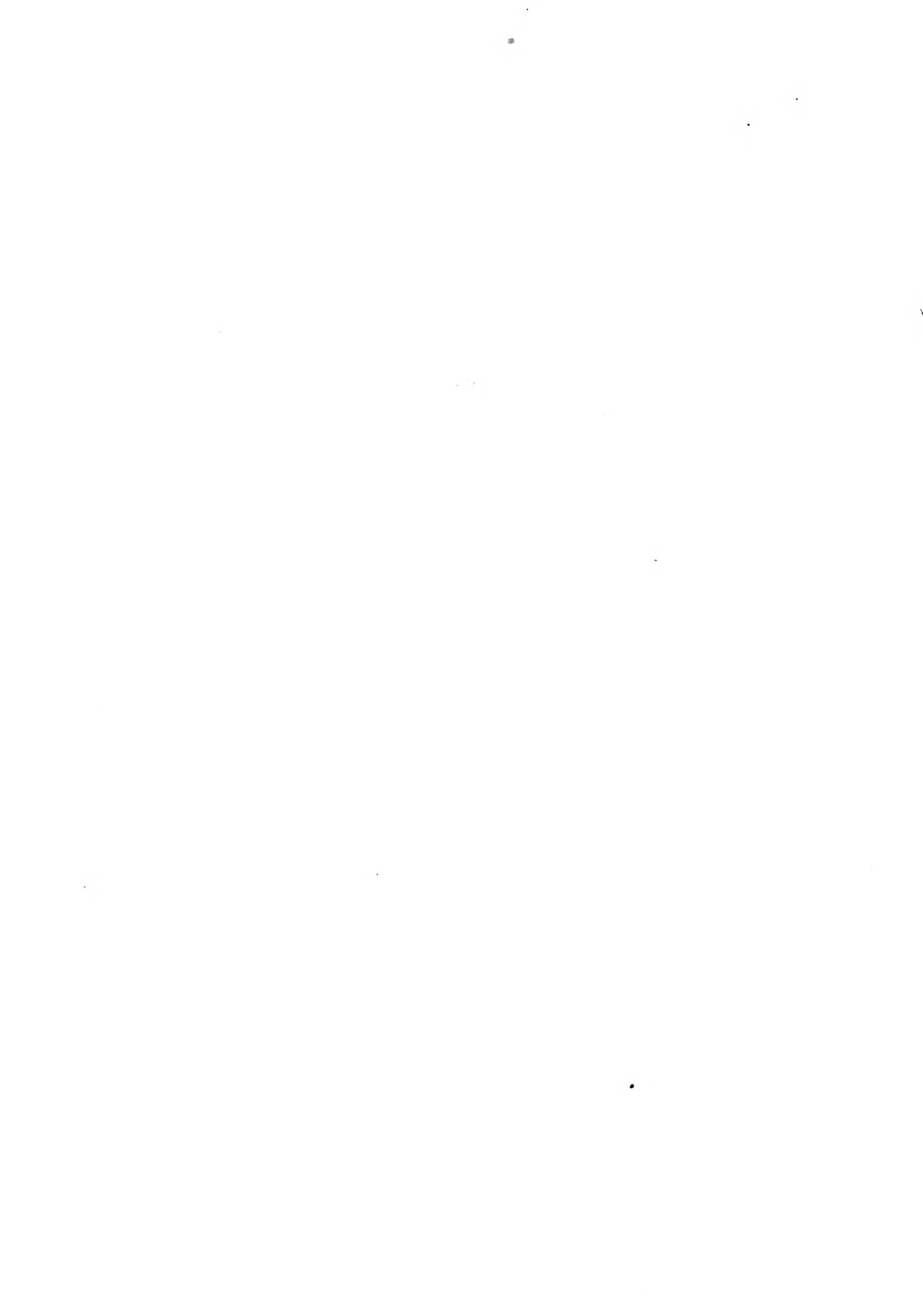
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FOREWORD

Description of the postwar adjustment of the evacuated Japanese Americans following their return to the main stream of life in American communities can best be stated in terms of motion. The evacuation, which was started in the early spring of 1942 at the order of the Western Defense Command of the United States Army did more than take 110,000 people from their homes in an area bordering the Pacific Coast into ten relocation centers constructed in remote areas between the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Mississippi River. In addition to physical uprooting, it shattered the social and economic patterns which had given a measure of stability to the prewar life of Japanese Americans.

The sum of their past experience, as well as the new conditions faced in relocation and resettlement has been important in the postwar adjustment of these people. Intangible factors going back to the transplanted and already disintegrating old world social organization of the west coast Japanese communities, and the changed character of public opinion have had an effect on that adjustment. While it is important to note that the character of the prewar Little Tokyo communities had been changing toward the level of the wider community, the process was slow. With the evacuation came the complete uprooting of the Little Tokyos and the destruction of many cultural practices which had stabilized the immigrant communities. Attitudes of the wider community before the war were mixed, with a tendency to accept known individuals but to reject the group. As a group, the west coast Japanese Americans had not been permitted to become sufficiently a part of the total community to be allowed to go through the crisis of attack by Japan as Americans. The evacuation produced a profound psychological shock which has carried over in varying extent to the postwar adjustment period.

Today, the most notable characteristic of the evacuated Japanese Americans is a feeling of unsettledness, of having unanswered questions concerning location, economic activity and social adjustment. Completion of the process of resettlement will require another five to ten years. The human effects of the evacuation will not be fully evident short of that time.

In the meantime, there is exploration of those phases of sentiment toward the group which affect the economic and social life of Japanese Americans in America, and individual and some group decisions are being

made concerning the kind of economic and social arrangements which will provide satisfactory adjustment. During the period of the last 18 months, which followed the completion of relocation after the centers were closed, the process of settlement has had its real beginning.

This report has resulted from a study of adjustments during this period. Study was undertaken upon the request of the Director of the War Relocation Authority with the express approval of the Congress, to:

"Analyze the effects of the evacuation from the west coast, and to complete the study of the relocation aspects, such as the new distribution of the people, and adjustment problems that relocated people continue to face in order to provide an adequate history of the effects of the evacuation upon the evacuated people and the country."*

This study was carried out by the War Agency Liquidation Unit of the United States Department of the Interior.

The history of the evacuation, the life of the people in the centers and of the early relocation period has been documented in the final reports of the War Relocation Authority.** Except for a short description of the relocation process and such brief historical references as may be necessary to the understanding of present adjustment, the events of 1942 - 1945 will not be covered in this report.

Notes on study methods. When study was begun in July of 1946, the pattern of resettlement had crystalized sufficiently to provide a basis of selection of localities to be studied. Chicago had become a center of midwestern relocation, Denver was a community in which both prewar and evacuee Japanese Americans were in residence, Los Angeles and Seattle were the largest prewar and postwar communities in the evacuated area. Accordingly these were chosen as the points of intensive study, with supplementary study in the Santa Clara Valley, the Snake River Valley, and Salt Lake City. Major study planned for the spring of 1947 in the

*Page 1294, Interior Department Appropriation Bill for 1947, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate.

**The United States Government, having called upon the Japanese American people to move from their west coast homes, assumed a responsibility for helping them to become reestablished. To carry out this responsibility, a civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority was created by executive order on March 18, 1942. A complete list of the WRA final reports will be found on the final page of this study.

rural areas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys had to be abandoned because of pressure of time and lack of funds. In addition, some material was gathered through secondary sources such as the vernacular press, and through short visits by staff members to other cities of the West Coast States, the Midwest, and the East.

With the exception of Seattle, the program of study was one of intensive interviewing of representative Japanese Americans within these communities, with findings being compiled from recorded interviews and published material to form a connected account depicting the range of adjustment. While information collected by this method does not permit statistical comparisons, representative data could be secured over a much wider area than otherwise would have been possible under time and budgetary limitations. Material in the words of the people has been used liberally, not only for illustration, but to carry the narrative forward.

In Seattle, the study was fortunate in securing the results of a survey conducted independently by S. Frank Miyamoto and Robert W. O'Brien, members of the faculty of the University of Washington. In terms of broad adjustment problems, the statistically supported findings of this survey, which were based on a random sample of the total Japanese American population of Seattle, are very similar to those secured through interviews in other areas, a fact which gives added assurance to the validity of material secured through the basic method of this study.*

In reporting findings, the selection of uniform terminology descriptive of the group and its various parts, was the occasion of some difficulty. This was particularly the case since much direct quotation has been used, and there was different usage as between various respondents. In order to provide consistency, it was arbitrarily determined to use the terms "Japanese" and "Japanese Americans" interchangeably. When the immigrant generation is referred to specifically, the word "Issei" is used. Similarly, the word "Nisei" is used to designate the second generation. Additional descriptive terms include the words "Kibei" to designate one born in America but who had spent considerable time in Japan prior to the war, and "Sansei" to denote the children of the Nisei, or the third generation.

The following observers lived as a part of the community under study for a period of from six weeks to four months: Tom Sasaki, Los Angeles; John deYoung, Chicago; Toshio Yatsushiro, Chicago and Denver; A. T. Hansen, Santa Clara Valley. Robert W. O'Brien and S. Frank Miyamoto, served the study for a period of one month each as consultants. Elmer Smith, a member of the faculty of the University of Utah reported for that state under a similar arrangement.

*Notes on methods used in setting up the Seattle study will be found in Appendix A.

In Washington, the staff had available the counsel of the Resettlement Adjustment Report Advisory Committee composed of Dr. John Provinse, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Chairman; Dr. Alexander Leighton of Cornell University; Mr. Edward B. Marks of the National Housing Authority; Dr. Joseph Douglas of Howard University; and Dr. A. T. Hansen of Miami University. These men, who served as individuals and without compensation, brought to the study an intimate knowledge of the wartime problems of the Japanese American and other minority people as well as a broad knowledge of the techniques of social research. Because of the pressure of time, members of the committee have not had an opportunity to pass on the report as finally prepared, but are familiar with the findings generally.

The study was directed by Robert M. Cullum, who was assisted in the preparation of the report by Tom Sasaki. While the primary field assignments were carried out by staff members, acknowledgment must also be made for the generous contribution of time, effort, and material by individuals and organizations too numerous to mention. Particular thanks are due the Japanese Americans whose experience and opinions form the basis of this report.

CHAPTER I

RELOCATION

The fact of common ancestry, which was the basis of the evacuation, subsequently proved to be a shallow common denominator. The Japanese Americans who found themselves together in relocation centers came from a variety of economic and social settings, and represented every level of adjustment to life in America. Relieved of the controls imposed by their former relationship to Japanese communities, they faced their new problems in the relocation centers and in their return to normal American communities according to the kind of individuals they happened to be.

It is now definite that all segments of the Japanese American group remaining in the United States both desire and expect to make their homes in America. There is strong belief among all that the Japanese American wartime record of civilian and military service, together with the peaceful submission to an evacuation that none of them felt necessary, had demonstrated their right to the full privileges of citizenship. In the process of settling into a new place in American life, they are faced with two sets of problems--those resulting from the economic and social disruptions of the evacuation, and those relating to racial visibility.

The relocation process. Relocation from the centers occurred in five or six observable movements, determined in part by the age and experience of the people involved and in part by the sections of the country open to resettlement. The fact that movement was selective has had a definite bearing on subsequent adjustment. Moreover, the nature of the relocation experience has been important both in the kind of activities engaging the evacuated Japanese Americans and in the formation of attitude. A review of this phase of their experience is necessary as background for later sections of this report.

College and university students who were among the first to receive permission to go outside, had been most intimately accepted in their own segment of life before the war. They were closely followed by a group of individuals whose adjustment to cramped center life was desperately negative. For these, almost any treatment on the outside was preferable to confinement. These, the students, and the several thousand who helped harvest the intermountain sugar beet crop while on temporary leave, were

the advance guard who probed the war inflamed attitudes of American communities from the eastern border of the evacuated states to the Atlantic.

Few Americans not having the relocation center experience can conceive of their neighborhood or their city as it was viewed by those inside. Rumors of violence were given wide belief. Thus, as late as February 1944, after many thousands had left the centers, an official of the Rohwer center related an incident which reflected the range of center opinion on this matter:

"A few weeks ago, Mrs. K., the wife of one of our Nisei ministers, went with her husband to a Midwest city to attend a church convention. When they returned, Rev. K. told me, with some amusement that she felt safe enough when she was with all the church people, but that she had a nervous upset when he proposed to go alone across the city by street car to visit a friend. She was sure he would be killed. When he persisted, she went along for better or worse. Rev. K. says she still can't get over the fact that no one paid any attention to them."/1

To go "outside" was considered extremely hazardous. Even when no specific reports of violence, or of inability to make a living came back from the vanguard, at first only those of high employability and without immediate family responsibilities ventured out. During the middle six months of 1943, the third phase of relocation movement got underway and the number of relocation pioneers grew. Many highly competent secretaries and stenographers went out to take domestic work, only to convert quickly to their specialties. Such a person, who wrote the New York relocation office to request placement as a maid, listed among her qualifications--graduation with honors from both business and junior college, life membership in several scholastic societies, a "best writer" award for work on her high school paper, a wide range of student club activities, two years of secretarial experience, and interests including, "writing, reading, dogs and people, poetry, badminton, tennis, collecting recipes, cooking and baking, walking and music."

The wartime need for manpower was great. Midwest business and industrial concerns, which at first may have been reluctant, found they could employ Nisei effectively and soon the demand far outran the supply of Nisei workers; a fact which quickly raised the status of Nisei generally. The number of Nisei young men in factories, garages, and various types of services grew. Among them were persons qualified for skilled and professional occupations, and they, too, began to shift to jobs in keeping with training and experience. The pioneers wrote their brothers, sisters, and friends, suggesting employment possibilities to them, offering to provide temporary housing. Through October of 1943,

the young employables continued to find their way outside. By the end of the year, nearly 18,000 had left the centers for good.

Their adjustment was fundamentally peaceful, but it was not without incident. A loafer on a Cleveland street spat in the face of a Nisei girl. A hospital in Chicago refused to receive a Nisei patient. The shed of a New Jersey farmer was burned when he brought several Japanese Americans to his farm. A Nisei boy became hopelessly lost in the New York subway system and wanted to return to the center. Prime war contractors were largely prevented from employing Nisei by army regulations.

The uprooting raised an honest question with many of the American people. "If these people were too dangerous to be permitted on the west coast, aren't they dangerous here where there is so much vital war work?" A fundamental tenet of American law, that the individual is innocent until proved guilty, made it difficult for many to conceive the possibility that there had been no individual accusation, or proof of guilt, as a basis for evacuation.

The Federal Government was active in correcting the impression that mass evacuation indicated widespread disloyalty. In 1943, for example, a pamphlet distributed by the War Relocation Authority called Relocation of Japanese Americans contained the following:

"In the interest of both accuracy and fairness, it is important to distinguish sharply between the residents of relocation centers and the militarists of Imperial Japan. Two-thirds of the people in the centers are American citizens, born in this country and educated, for the most part, in American public schools.

"Under our laws, aliens of enemy nationality who are found guilty of acts or intentions against the security of the Nation are being confined in internment camps which are administered not by the War Relocation Authority but by the Department of Justice. American citizens suspected of subversive activities are being handled through the ordinary courts. The residents of the relocation centers have never been found guilty--either individually or collectively--of any such acts or intentions. They are merely a group of American residents who happen to have Japanese ancestors and who happened to be living in a potential combat zone shortly after the outbreak of the war. All evidence available to the War Relocation Authority indicates that the great majority of them are completely loyal to the United States."2

Through the War Relocation Authority, the Federal Government provided added assurance by means of a loyalty screening test, which all evacuees were required to pass before permission to leave the centers

was granted. Through this measure and the widespread public information program undertaken by WRA, public confidence in the relocation program was made secure.

Essentially, however, it was within the various localities of re-settlement that acceptance or rejection took place; if WRA could vouch for the Japanese American resettlers, it was the community that provided acceptance, jobs, and housing.

Leadership in providing acceptance was taken by many church and civic groups. In every city where any number of resettlers went, there was sponsorship on the part of "Resettlement Committees" in which local citizens of respected opinion served. This gave substance to the efforts of the Federal Government. To attack the right of a resettler to become a member of a community meant to attack people of respectability. Conversely, to be tolerant or to provide assistance meant identification with persons of importance.*

The process of securing acceptance was not abstract, but depended upon the presence of the Nisei vanguard. When John Sugimoto or Nancy Fujiwara made an appearance, the issue became concrete. They went to Cleveland, Detroit, or Chicago, feeling a heavy responsibility for proving the loyalty, industriousness, and presentability of all Japanese Americans. The process of leaving the centers was selective, and the first to arrive in a new locality most often provided a favorable impression of the group.

Like most pioneering movements, that to the "outside" gained strength as word of success came back. In 1944, the movement out of the centers continued at a pace about equal to that of the previous year; but it began to include some whose immediate family responsibilities were greater. Wives and children joined husbands who had gone

*The general principle involved in the process of securing tolerance for Japanese Americans was stated concisely by Dean Robert Redfield in a speech made in April 1946 before a meeting of the National Association of College Registrars:

"If one man or one institution takes a public position against racial prejudice so as to make effective an equality as among racial groups that was before denied, that act gives encouragement to all others whose attitudes inclined toward equality and justice but who were held from acting in accordance with their inclination by uncertainty or timidity or other causes. As a result, some of these will now act on their convictions; others will then be in their turn encouraged, and commit themselves to justice rather than injustice by performing just acts."

out earlier. Occasionally a whole family left at one time to take residence in one of the temporary hostels provided in a number of cities by religious groups. A few of the Issei began to leave the centers. By the end of 1944, they numbered about 6,000 of nearly 36,000 who had left. Of this last figure, about 3,500 or less than ten percent were under fourteen years of age.

During 1944 community acceptance in the Midwest and East had steadily become better. The John Sugimoto's and the Nancy Fujiwara's were working steadily, and were receiving much favorable attention. News from the fighting front in Italy, where Nisei served with great distinction, was given prominent display by newspapers, and in the parts of the country where relocation was permitted, the question of loyalty had receded almost to the vanishing point. Jobs in keeping with experience and training were available for those qualified. But at the time when families were beginning to come out of the centers, the national housing crisis was deepening. The task of finding shelter became the first and increasingly desperate concern of resettlers. Many who had wished to bring parents or immediate families from the centers were unable to do so for lack of housing.

Until the west coast was reopened, most resettlers felt unsettled, even though their immediate economic adjustment was to their liking. When the announcement opening the coast was made on December 17, 1944, the necessity for definite planning grew more pressing. Letters were exchanged with family members still in centers, and visits to centers were made for family consultation. Should parents be urged to come East, possibly to be lonely because there would be few Issei who could talk with them? Should the relocated Nisei give up his position and return to the coast to help his parents, even though it meant reduction in status and earnings? These questions were very disturbing.

In the year 1945, decisions could not be delayed. The centers were to close before the year was out. Whether housing was available or not, family reunions had to be arranged, and the decision had to be made whether to return to the west coast, or to remain where they were.

Likewise, those in the centers had to decide whether to return to their old localities, or to join friends and relatives already relocated. Of the 75,000 center residents eligible for relocation on January 1, 1945, nearly a third, including many Issei, ultimately turned eastward.

The first to return to the evacuated area were met both with organized and unorganized hostility; but also with support from organizations and individuals. Very often immediate neighbors, who knew them personally, were friendly to those who returned. Nevertheless, some

homes were shot into and there were a number of cases of arson. Neither the Japanese Americans, the government, nor supporters in the community gave ground.

In a small town located in the central valley of California, for example, when the school board removed a Nisei from third base of the high school baseball team, to avoid possible reaction elsewhere in the valley, the removal was carried out over the protest of the team, and thereafter the youngster was carried along as a water boy.

In another instance, an adult Nisei farmer, living in the same general vicinity, was visited one night by several of his "neighbors". Commenting later, he said:

"We talked until nearly midnight. They wanted me to promise to go, and I refused. There was not one that I knew, and I know everyone that lives for miles around. I told them I had a brother who did a job of fighting in Italy. I told them he fought for the right of his people to live as Americans. I told them he hadn't turned tail when the going was tough, and that I wasn't going to either. When they left, I shook hands with all of them. None of them have been back." 1

Gradually public sentiment developed to support the right of the evacuees to return to their homes. By VJ-Day, August 14, 1945, even the most vocal opponents were silenced, and from that time, relocation continued without major incident.

During the first eight months of 1945, another segment of people had left the centers under the pressure of some compulsion but still with freedom of choice--between January 1 and VJ-Day, approximately 31,000 persons had chosen a destination and had left the center; but nearly 44,000 eligible to relocate still remained. After this date, the Government placed the remaining evacuees in the centers under direct compulsion to leave. The evacuees unable to make up their minds, or who refused to leave, were given train fare to the point of their evacuation. By the end of November 1945, all except those at Tule Lake were outside.

They returned by the train load to such centers as San Francisco, Los Angeles and Seattle. They included the old and infirm, and those with heavy family responsibility. They piled into temporary shelter, hostels, converted army barracks, and public housing. Their only certainty was that the refuge of the relocation center was no longer available to them.

Once back on the coast, a future that from the security of the centers had been viewed almost with terror, refocused in the day to day

realities of the search for work and permanent shelter; those who had returned found they were not entirely alone. The ones who had gone out earlier were available to help the late comers. WRA officials, who had seemed remote and arbitrary in the centers, became instruments through which barriers could be broken. Constructive leaders in the community were concerned and active. Public assistance was made available when needed. For many the homecoming was difficult in the extreme; but not impossible as they had feared. With relocation completed, the process of settlement could be begun.

Present location. A direct by product of the evacuation has been the dispersal of Japanese Americans throughout the United States. Of the 126,947 persons of Japanese descent, enumerated by the 1940 census, 112,353, or 88.5 per cent lived in the three West Coast States.

When the closing of the relocation centers had been completed, WRA records showed that 57,251 persons had returned to the three states of California, Oregon, and Washington.* This figure includes 3,124 residing in the non-evacuated eastern sections of the latter two states.

During the entire period of the relocation movement, 54,254 persons who had left relocation centers, gave as their destinations states other than those mentioned above, and 961 had gone to Alaska or Hawaii. Of the number who relocated to other parts of the country, approximately 5,500 returned to the evacuated area on government travel grant before March 30, 1946. How many have since returned at their own expense is not known, but it may be assumed from the evident expansion of the west coast Japanese American population, and general indication of movement, that at least an equal number has been involved.

On the basis of incomplete data concerning the 106,925 evacuees,** who are known to have relocated from WRA centers, present estimates place between 28,000 and 30,000 of the total east of the Missouri River, from 10,000 to 12,000 in the Great Plains and Intermountain States, and

*Tables 12 and 13 of the WRA report, The Evacuated People—A Quantitative Description provide detailed information concerning the first destination of evacuees after they left relocation centers, and a comparison of the number of Japanese Americans known to have returned to west coast localities with data taken from the census of 1940.

**The total number of persons in WRA custody was 120,313. In addition to the 106,925 who relocated, 2,355 went to the United States Armed Forces, 1,322 to institutions, 1,862 were deceased, 4,724 went to Japan, and 3,121, including family members were sent to United States Department of Justice Internment./5

the remainder in the three West Coast States.* From this estimate, slightly more than 60 per cent of the evacuees have returned to their former homes, or other parts of the evacuated area, and slightly less than 40 per cent have remained east of the evacuation boundary.

If the number of prewar residents of states other than those along the west coast, about 14,500, is added to give a total of all persons of Japanese ancestry now residing in the United States, the distribution roughly would be 55 per cent for the states of Washington, Oregon, and California, and 45 per cent for the rest of the country. This compares with 88.5 per cent of the total in these three states in 1940.

After accounting for births and deaths since 1940, and after deducting the number of those who have gone to Japan, a rough estimate of the total United States population of persons of Japanese descent comes to approximately 130,000, or slightly fewer than one person in a thousand among the total population of the United States. Of these, not more than one-third are foreign-born. The median age of Nisei, however, remains low--half are below 22 years of age, and in terms of working population, Issei and Nisei are about equal in number.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the process of relocation was highly selective. The better trained and the more aggressive, and those with the least family responsibilities, were the first to leave the centers for the Midwest and East, and the fact of selective distribution has had a definite effect on the nature of adjustment, both in the evacuated area and to the East. However, the assumption that the present age distribution would reflect this process, appears not to be valid. In Seattle, for example, where accurate statistics are available, it was found that the age distribution was one normal to the entire population of Japanese Americans in the United States.**

A number of explanations may be advanced for this fact. Family solidarity remained a strong force in the development of relocation plans. During the last few months of relocation, there was a sizable movement of Issei toward the Midwest and East as families were reunited, as well as departures of younger people toward the west coast from their

*Accurate population statistics will not be available before completion of the 1950 census of population. Estimates are based on WRA figures, which provide an indication of the destination given at the time the evacuee left the center, and on information secured from Japanese American residents of the various communities in which they are now living. The only known enumeration was made in Seattle. Tables indicating total number and age distribution for this city may be found in Appendix A.

**See Appendix A for Seattle population data.

points of relocation. Furthermore, as Nisei soldiers were discharged, they tended to return to their original homes, since few had experience in other localities during the war period when jobs were readily available. These, together with less evident factors apparently have been sufficient to balance age distribution throughout the country.

Those who relocated to the East before the west coast was reopened and then returned to their original homes, had a variety of reasons for doing so. Some had property to which they returned; others, as for example the many Colorado and Utah evacuee farmers, who returned to the West Coast States, felt economic opportunities to be better there. Likewise, some Nisei and Issei, who have become unemployed, have left for the West in the hopes of finding work among old associates.

The effect of sentimental attachment to places where homes had been made for 30 to 40 years cannot be minimized. As put by the editor of a Midwest vernacular newspaper:

"A good many of the older people had once hoped to go back to Japan to spend the last few years of their life. The war ended that desire for most of them. Now they look back to California as their home; as the place where they want to go to die. This sentiment is very strong."1

An Issei who had returned to Seattle said very much the same thing when he remarked:

"In a way it is just like going back to Japan. Seattle has been my home for over 30 years, and although I do not know any of the Caucasians I meet on the street, the streets are still there, there is the same Smith Tower, the same waterfront, the same parks, and the buildings have the same corners that they occupied when we left. It may be a fine thing for the Nisei to pioneer in other sections of the country, but when you are 60 years old you want to return home, and Seattle is home to most of us older people. The pigeons and the seagulls are probably not the same pigeons and seagulls that we saw in 1941, but they look the same."1

It is probable most of the older people have similar feelings, but some have put them aside, as for example, Rev. T. of Cleveland, who remarked:

"You know, I came to Cleveland and stayed 18 months in the home of a friend. I was what you call a resettler. But now I have bought a home; now I have become a Clevelander."1

Many of the Nisei returned unwillingly because of family obligations. Japanese custom requires that the eldest son assume responsibility for his parents in case of need, and this feeling of obligation has remained strong among the Nisei. Cases where this responsibility has been discharged by bringing parents to the new location are not infrequent, but much more often, parents have insisted on returning to their west coast localities, and that their children return to help them. Few have stood out against pressure of this kind.

Present indications are that the Japanese American population in the East and Midwest has become relatively stable. In Cleveland and Detroit, for example, where the group is small enough to permit general knowledge of its composition, it is believed by Japanese American residents that the number leaving is about balanced by those who have retraced their steps from the west coast. Although information is less exact, Japanese American residents of Chicago believe the same to be substantially true of that city. Movement away from centers of Japanese population in the Intermountain States is continuing at a fairly high level.*

The possibility of return to the west coast continues to be a general topic of discussion among those now located elsewhere. Without question, old surroundings continue to exert a strong pull. However, where family or property ties to the west coast do not exist, economic considerations have tended to keep them where they are. Thus, a Nisei accountant living in Cincinnati remarked:

"I'm sure I'd feel more at ease back home in California. You can't forget the place where you were brought up. But right now I've got to think first of my wife and child. My business here is good and getting better. I can't afford to take the time to get reestablished out there. I have nothing definite to which to go now. Maybe I'll go after a few years." /1

After mentioning the frequent discussion of return, a Chicago Nisei journalist noted:

"But the gap between this kind of talk and action widens with each passing month...Japanese American resettlers in Chicago during 1946 have invested nearly a million dollars, bringing to a reputed total of some \$2,500,000 in over 400 business

*In the discussion of economic adjustment in the localities covered, additional information will be presented concerning mobility.

enterprises; purchased in excess of 450 homes throughout the city; launched new businesses at a steady clip of two to five per week; persuaded several hundreds of west coast returnees to join them in Chicago on a permanent basis; formed new community groups on what seems to be a permanent basis; increased their family income by upgrading in their employment in approximately 2,000 different business and industrial organizations, in hospitals, laboratories, social agencies, and educational institutions." /3

In support of such activity, in Chicago and the other cities of the Midwest and East, a counter-claim to that of the West is developing. The basis for attachment to the new location was well stated by another Chicago Nisei writer:

"The whole experience of resettlement in the Midwest has taught the Nisei that he no longer needs to fret within his own shell and bitterly wail about discrimination with that inevitable 'lose fight' attitude...The older Nisei have chosen to remain in the East where opportunities for employment are such as they have never been on the west coast...Unless the traditional economic barriers against orientals on the Pacific Coast are drastically eased, it is very doubtful that very many Chicago Nisei will move back." /4

Much of the conversation concerning return to the west coast is prefaced by, "when housing is available back home." No one knows when this will be, but the assumption is that several years must elapse. It is evident that when housing is available on the west coast, there will be another period of questioning and decision. Undoubtedly, there will be some new movement at that time. How extensive this will be cannot be predicted. Factors related to employment acceptance, earnings, housing, and educational and social opportunities for children will all be weighed before the decision is made.

Another factor which has some bearing on the delay in coming to a final decision concerning location is the fact that their first migration was involuntary. Since the original move was not of their own choosing, there is a definite conditioning toward a return to old surroundings before making a final choice. A visit "home" has been a standard practice, even among those who have decided to remain in the East. Some movement from the west coast localities to the Midwest and East has been noted, and this also may be expected to continue.

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE

Japanese Americans face divergent trends of public attitude and legal action.

The trend toward increased acceptance, which is now dominant, existed before the war, but was almost extinguished by Pearl Harbor. Since the war, acceptance of the group has become much more positive than ever before, a condition based on the exceptional Nisei war record and a much more widespread person to person acquaintance with other Americans following dispersal from relocation centers. The issue is still much sharper in the West than elsewhere, but examples of acceptance are not uncommon there.

The present negative trend, which in severity of economic application also dates from the evacuation, has its roots in the west coast anti-Japanese campaigns of the past, primarily as antagonistic sentiment of the past became established in law. The most severe economic difficulties under which Japanese Americans are now placed result from legal restrictions based on the "ineligibility to citizenship" of alien Japanese. Of these, the Alien Land Laws of the West Coast States are the most important, not only to aliens, but to the citizen generation as well.

The degree of broad public acceptance will in the long run determine the presence or absence of discrimination, which in turn will bear on the economic, housing, and social adjustments of the Japanese American people.

Accordingly, the following section seeks to present information concerning the elements making up the wider aspects of public acceptance as background for consideration of day to day adjustment problems.

Increased Public Acceptance

Any discussion of public opinion toward Japanese Americans must note the intense anti-Japanese agitation, which in California extended back to as early as 1900, and the fact that attitudes of vocal Californians on this question eventually became the attitudes of the country at large.* Note also must be taken that the attitudes of Californians were not unanimously held; that in the decade before World War II, a means of living together had been found which permitted Japanese Americans an opportunity to earn a livelihood and gave them a not impossible social status; that a large number of Californians were personally friendly to individuals even while many remained antagonistic to the group as a whole.

In part, this accommodation can be traced to diminished exclusionist activity resulting from the 1923 ruling of the United States Supreme Court, which in the Ozawa case held a Japanese alien ineligible for citizenship, the more stringent Alien Land Laws enacted in 1923, and the 1924 Immigration Act, which prevented further Japanese entry. Those who favored the expulsion of persons of Japanese descent from the country had not been entirely successful, but sufficiently so that their opposition became largely dormant.

Between Pearl Harbor and the evacuation, latent antagonism revived and multiplied to an intensity never before reached. After the evacuation took place, anti-Japanese agitation died down in the evident belief that all persons of Japanese ancestry would eventually be expelled from the United States, but was redoubled when the War Relocation Authority announced its relocation program. After Japanese Americans became well known in midwestern and eastern communities, and after the Army had re-opened its ranks to Nisei, with many volunteering from the confines of relocation centers, the hoped for exclusion became improbable. When the record of Nisei troops became known, exclusion became impossible; the case of the exclusionist was lost on the battlefields of Europe and the Far East. As one Californian who favored exclusion put it:

"The worst mistake the Government made was to let them in the Army. They come back with an arm gone, or a leg gone, and you have to show them consideration."/1

*A detailed description of the origins of anti-Japanese sentiment on the west coast may be found in the WRA final report titled "WARTIME EXILE--The Evacuation of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast".

Not different in implication, if from another motivation, were the words of Lt. Gen. Mark Clark when he fixed the Presidential Citation to the colors of the Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion:

"You are always thinking of your country before yourselves. You have never complained through your long periods in the line. You have written a brilliant chapter in the history of the fighting men in America. You are always ready to close with the enemy, and you have always defeated him. The 34th Division is proud of you, the Fifth Army is proud of you, and the whole United States is proud of you." /2

On the other side of the world, in an interview given on Okinawa just after the war's close, Gen. Joseph Stillwell said of Japanese Americans:

"They bought an awful hunk of America with their blood.. you're damn right those Nisei boys have a place in the American heart, now and forever. We cannot allow a single injustice to be done to the Nisei without defeating the purposes for which we fought." /3

Less than two months later, General Stillwell flew from Washington to California to present, posthumously, to the family of Sgt. Kazuo Masuda, the Distinguished Service Cross. In pinning the medal on Mary Masuda, who earlier had been threatened with vigilante action if she remained at the family farm, the General said:

"I've seen a good deal of the Nisei in the service and never yet have I found one of them who didn't do his duty right up to the handle.

"The Distinguished Service Cross in itself is a small thing, but since it stands for gallantry in action, I hope you and your family will remember that Sergeant Masuda, in winning it, has also won the respect and admiration of all real Americans." /4

On July 15, 1946, the men of the 442nd Combat Team were reviewed on the White House grounds by President Truman. The Pacific Citizen report reveals the pride of Japanese Americans in their soldier kin:

"The 442nd Nisei Regimental Combat Team climaxed their triumphant homecoming on July 15 when they marched down Constitution Avenue to the Ellipse to receive from President Truman the Presidential Distinguished Unit Citation.

"The celebrated foot soldiers who tramped the rugged terrain of Europe experienced the rare thrill of marching on the asphalt pavement of the most famous parade thoroughfare in the Nation, and of bringing into the full view of thousands of cheering Washingtonians and the President of the United States the colors which so proudly weathered the bloody European campaigns.

"As 6,000 rain-drenched spectators looked on, the President, accompanied by Secretary Patterson and Colonel Pursall, inspected the troops, stopping along the way to shake hands and chat with various soldiers.

"After the President returned to his position in front of the reviewing platform, the colors of the 442nd and the 100th Battalion and guidons of component units advanced to the front of the stand, followed by the ten outstanding men of the combat team.

"The President spoke as follows:

"It is a very great pleasure to me today to be able to put the Seventh Regimental Citation on your banners.

"You are to be congratulated on what you have done for this great country of yours. I think it was my predecessor who said that Americanism is not a matter of race or creed, it is a matter of the heart.

"You fought for the free nations of the world along with the rest of us. I congratulate you on that, and I can't tell you how much I appreciate the privilege of being able to show you just how much the United States of America thinks of what you have done.

"You are now on the way home. You fought not only the enemy, but you fought prejudice--and you have won. Keep up that fight, and we will continue to win--to make this great republic stand for just what the constitution says it stands for: the welfare of all people all the time."

"If the 'Go for Broke' boys, those who marched on Monday, and those who at one time or another wore the red, white, and blue Liberty Torch shoulderpatch, had any doubts on how America feels about them, they were dispelled dramatically. The esteem with which they are held by the Ameri-

can public was all too evident on Monday. The thousands of persons who lined Constitution Avenue and who stood for an hour around the Ellipse in the rain and got soaking wet presented the best proof of the high regard with which they are held by appreciative Americans."

A day later, the New York Herald Tribune commented editorially:

"The 442nd is composed of Nisei, second generation Americans who are citizens and whose parents are Japanese immigrants. It fought in Italy, Southern France, and the Rhineland; was tagged the 'Purple Heart Regiment' for its 3,600 citations, and received its Presidential honors on the White House grounds.

"In the late winter and early spring of 1942, by contrast, and under duress of the emergency, more than one hundred thousand Japanese aliens and Nisei were removed from the Pacific Coast to the interior and placed in protective custody. Two-thirds of this group was made up of American citizens, and in the region it had been obliged to quit there had been at times great feeling about the 'Yellow Peril' which Pearl Harbor did nothing to lesson.

"It has since been reported that campaigns in behalf of tolerance, some under the influence of the War Relocation Authority, some inspired by the 442nd, and some by common sense, have done much to iron out unnecessary feelings of difference. If it had not happened that way there would not have been much point in the 442nd going overseas, or in any of the democratic theories that count men before race. We, too, salute the 442nd for its record overseas and the good work that record has accomplished here."

The sense of gratitude and obligation has not been one sided, as shown by an action of Nisei enrolled at the Military Intelligence Language School at Monterey, who in September of 1946 raised a fund of \$1,236.05 for the fight against poliomyelitis in Minnesota. In a letter to Governor Thye of that State, Pvt. Edwin Nakasone wrote for these men:

"It was with a deep sense of sympathy that we learned of Minnesota's recent poliomyelitis epidemic. We felt doubly concerned because it was only a few months ago that we were stationed in your very hospitable state. Many of us made warm, lasting friendships with the understanding people of Minnesota, especially in the Twin Cities area. None of us,

who had the good fortune of being stationed in Minnesota can ever forget the kindness, friendship, and the helping hand accorded the Nisei." /5

While a direct connection with this incident can hardly be drawn, there can be no question of fundamental relationships implied by a statement made 6 months later by Mayor Hurbert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis:

"During the war we came to know the Nisei well in connection with the fine patriotic service they performed at Fort Snelling and Camp Savage. It is a pleasure to note that many of them have chosen to make Minneapolis their permanent home, and that they are becoming a part of our social community.

"I would like to urge that every Nisei participate to the fullest possible extent in the numerous civic activities. We need to know each other better and to build strong bridges of understanding between us so that we all recognize that we are a part of a single democratic tradition in which the dignity of every individual is placed uppermost." /6

Statements such as these received wide coverage in the press of the Nation. They went far to establish a set of criteria for judging the loyalty and the contribution of the Nisei. A more recent statement, made by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, relative to the statehood petition of Hawaii was similarly carried:

"Before World War II, I entertained some doubt as to the loyalty of American citizens of Japanese ancestry in the event of war with Japan. From my observations during World War II, I no longer have that doubt.

"I know of no cases of sabotage or subversive activities during my entire service as Commander in Chief of Pacific ocean areas." /7

Equally important in day to day activities has been the fact of strong support by individual Caucasian veterans of both theaters of action. In Minneapolis, for example, the president of the 34th (Red Bull) Division Club made a public appeal for Nisei membership. In Spokane, a Nisei was unanimously elected secretary of the AVC Chapter. In Salt Lake City, the state commanders of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and the United Spanish War Veterans joined to petition the Legisla-

ture to repeal the Alien Land Law of that State, an appeal later joined by the AF of L and CIO of Utah. In presenting the petition, the commander of the Salt Lake City VFW "Atomic Post" noted:

"The Alien Land Law is directed against the innocent parents of many of our comrades in arms of Japanese ancestry who fought so gallantly on all the battle fronts of World War II, the alien Japanese who through no fault of their own cannot become citizens of our country.

"The Alien Land Law denies the right to 'acquire, possess, or transfer real property' to those alien Japanese who though actual citizens of enemy Japan contributed so much to our victory over that enemy in counter-intelligence, as instructors in the Army and Navy Language Schools, on the production lines of war industries, and on the farms."/8

The repeal action passed both houses of the Utah Legislature, the Senate unanimously, and was signed by Governor Maw.

Early in May 1947, Governor Maw again expressed his support of the Japanese Americans of his State when he wrote Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, President of the United States Senate:

"The Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants who live in the State of Utah are among our best citizens. They are law abiding, industrious, cooperative, and loyal. Their war record is unexcelled.

"A good many of them migrated to Utah when they were evacuated from California during the early days of the war. Most of these lost a large portion of the wealth they had accumulated on the Pacific Coast.

"Because of the high caliber of citizenship these people have exhibited and because of their outstanding war record, I sincerely believe that discriminatory legislation against them should be repealed. It is with this thought in mind that I respectfully urge your support of the measure before the Congress which extends to the Japanese people the same privileges as are enjoyed by immigrants from other countries. I also respectfully urge that you support legislation which will compensate these people for the tremendous financial and property losses incurred by them during their forced evacuation from the west coast."

Similar letters were sent Representative Joseph H. Martin, Speaker of the House, and the chairmen of the Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

In Hood River, Oregon, earlier the scene of much vocal antagonism, the wife of a storekeeper who had been instrumental in the return of Japanese Americans noted the following:

"The GI, almost to a man, is loyal to his Nisei buddy. Yesterday one of these lads, whom I have seen in our place of business several times in recent months, happening to catch me in our store, somewhat flustered and embarrassed, stammered out a sincere commendation of our work in helping the Japanese people to reestablish themselves. 'We GIs take off our hats to you. We think guys like that fellow that wouldn't sell fireworks to those Nisei GIs for their kiddies last Fourth of July ought to be hung up for the birds to pick and I told him so. I served out there in the Pacific and I know the job these guys did. There were three of them in our outfit and I saw their work. I don't usually take things up but I had to tell that guy what we thought of fellows like him. It burns me up to see those boys wearing the uniform and the discharge buttons turned down on things they wanted.' "/9

Less spectacular, but no less significant, a Caucasian veteran of the Philippines campaign and a participant in the "March of Death" has taken lodging in the home of a Denver Nisei newspaperman, who, it is worth noting, is now an editorial writer for the Denver Post, one of the most vocal antagonists of Japanese Americans during the war.

Public support and a positive reaction on the part of Nisei service men have combined on a number of occasions to alleviate discrimination. Thus, a front page story which appeared in the August 14, 1946 issue of the Houston Press, gave an account of the difficulties being experienced by ex-Sgt. George Otsuka:

"Meet Sergeant Otsuka--He Helped Rescue Texas'
'Lost Battalion'--Now Texans Snub Him.

"The last thing Sgt. George Otsuka ever expected was a raw deal from Texans.

"Sgt. George Otsuka is a Nisei--a second generation American-born citizen. Because of that he finds he is unwelcome in some parts of Harris County. He is told, in fact, that if he moves onto a farm in the Tomball-Cypress area, 'There will be trouble'.

"The ex-infantryman, wearer of four bronze battle stars, wrote in protest to The Press:

"I have a complaint to make. In your editorial a few weeks back you praised the 442nd Infantry Regiment for the wonderful combat record it rolled up overseas. You know it was composed mostly of Japanese Americans, or Nisei, as they are sometimes called.

"Well I'm a Nisei. I was in that outfit from the beginning and all through every battle until the end.

"Now I am back with my family and, in looking for a farm, I located one in the Cypress area near Tomball. I had everything arranged and was about to move in when I was told to keep away or otherwise there would be trouble.

"No, it isn't the landlord's opinion, I know that. It is the neighbors around there. They do not want us around.

"What I would like to know is this our answer for rescuing the 'Lost Battalion' of your proud 36th Division in the Vosges Mountains in France?

"Is that your answer for the terrific casualty we suffered to rescue those men of the 36th?

"If it is, then the picture, I am enclosing is yours. I don't want it. There isn't enough room inside me for this and my recent experience.

"The picture he enclosed was a copy of the plaque that the First Battalion of the 141st Infantry Regiment of the 36th presented to the 442nd Infantry Regiment 'with deep sincerity and utmost appreciation of the gallant fight to effect our rescue after we had been isolated for seven days' at Biffontaine, France, October 24 to 30, 1944."

Three days later, the August 17 issue of The Houston Press ran a second story concerning the Otsukas, under the caption:

"Sergeant Otsuka and 'Happiest Family' Move to Farm."

The same issue carried a half dozen "Letters to the Editor" all in the same vein. One began "It makes my blood boil..."

Commenting on this case, a writer for the Pacific Citizen noted:

"Texans rushed to Otsuka's support not only through vigorous condemnation of the bigots but through extending farming offers.

"The emphatic manner in which Texans rallied to Otsuka's side demonstrated once again that the vast majority of the people everywhere believe in fair play and that they will act to beat down any contradiction of the American tradition of justice and equality.

"The spontaneous and lusty response which incidents like George Otsuka's evoke should be a tonic for the Nisei and all minorities. It is another graphic proof that for every person that pulls a raw deal in the name of bigotry, there are at least a hundred who will squelch it in the name of justice and democracy. Our democracy seems safe as long as there are people who will 'stay in there with the little fellow.'"

Nor is additional evidence lacking that Nisei veterans expect to receive equal treatment, or that they will refuse to remain passive in the face of discrimination. The experience of Yoshio K. on a "before and after" basis provides precise illustration:

"You know, when I first came out of the relocation camp to resettle in Colorado, boy, we sure got discriminated against. I remember Paul (brother) and I got off at La Junta and went to the nearest restaurant to get some food. Paul and I sat down and waited for the waitress to take our order. Well, we waited and waited, and the waitress wouldn't come. I told Paul, 'come on, let's get out of here', but Paul wouldn't go. He said, 'let's sit until the waitress comes to take our order.' Well, we waited some more, and I insisted to Paul, 'let's leave,' but you know how Paul is. He was stubborn and wouldn't go. Well, we waited for an hour and a half before we finally left the place without being waited on.

"When I got out of the Army a little while ago and on my way home to Denver, for the hell of it, I stopped off at La Junta and went to the same restaurant. I was going to raise cain if I got the same treatment as Paul

and I did 3 years ago. Boy, this time when I sat down at a table the waitress came to wait on me. It's a good thing she did. I wasn't scared this time with my uniform on.

"Now if any Caucasian or anybody tries anything funny on me, I'm going to tell him off. I don't care where I am, nobody is going to discriminate against me." /1

This same ex-GI went on to relate an incident concerning another Nisei GI, who lived in Grand Junction, Colorado:

"That guy is rugged all right. He's the kind of a guy that was always volunteering for front line combat. He is a typical guy from the country.

"Well, he was banged up in battle and had to have one leg amputated. I saw him in Denver and he told me this story. When he got home the other day, being discharged from the Army, he noticed a big sign in front of a restaurant saying 'No Japs Allowed'. He was plenty sore. He went down to the restaurant without his one leg--intentionally he left his artificial leg off--and with his crutches he stormed into the restaurant. He demanded, 'Where is the manager of this joint?' The manager came out, and he cussed him plenty for putting up such a sign as 'No Japs Allowed' in front of his restaurant. He went on to tell the manager, 'What do you think I went to war for?' and about he being an American and about his right to be treated fairly. The next day the sign was taken off." /1

That favorable public attitudes toward Japanese Americans grew most rapidly as their war record became known, should not obscure the fact that thousands of Nisei and Issei added to the wartime pool of manpower, and many of them served in positions of confidence. This kind of service was also exploited by the press and became widely known in the communities of settlement. Moreover, at places of employment, Japanese Americans came to be known not as a category, but as individuals. Such personal relationships went far to cement friendly attitudes toward the group as a whole.

Throughout the country, the term "Nisei" has come to connote loyalty, just as the term "Jap" carries a derogatory meaning. A glance at the headlines of 1942 is sufficient to show that it was "Japs" who were taken away to relocation centers. Common use of the word "Nisei" can be taken as one measure of respect won by Japanese Americans in both military and civilian activities.

Expressions of support have been more frequent in the East and Middle West, but have not been confined to that area. In a September 1946 meeting with representatives of the Japanese American Citizens League, Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles remarked:

"Not only Nisei soldiers but also your group of civilians did well in proving their loyalty. We not only consider you as Americans but also our fellow citizens. We accept you as fellow citizens."/10

Later, at a Los Angeles testimonial dinner held November 3 for Nisei war dead, Mayor Bowron amplified this statement:

"As some of you know, during the early part of the war, I was outspoken not only against Japan, but now I freely confess also to a great extent against Japanese in general. I feared that blood would tell in some cases and that it would be extremely difficult to separate those, even though in the vast majority, who could be relied upon as to loyalty to this, the land of their birth, and those whose hearts retained the pride of ancestry to the extent that when there was opportunity, they would act to give aid and comfort to the government of the land of their forefathers.

"I am glad, indeed, to make the public declaration that I have been convinced beyond any peradventure of doubt, the Nisei have been true."/11

The expressions of the military and of persons in high office were not infrequently paralleled by neighborly action. Thus, the August 19, 1946 issue of the Christian Science Monitor presented the following:

"Out of a disaster which befell his family last Thanksgiving Day, Ushuro Ito of Leucadia, California finds cause for rejoicing for adversity revealed the friends he had made before the war.

"Ito was evacuated with his family in the west coast mass movement of persons of Japanese ancestry in 1942. He stored his farming tools in a garage building. The tools and building were valued at \$9,000.

"The Issei farmer and his family were moved to Poston, Ariz., where he remained during the war. His two sons went to Detroit where they worked in a war plant.

"Last fall there came the great day. He and his family returned to the little farm they owned in Leucadia.

"Soon after their return hoodlums set fire to the garage building destroying it and all the equipment. This was a serious blow to Ito.

"In the midst of Ito's despair, his friends descended on his little farm. They came from nearby Vista and Del Mar, bringing material from which they erected a new building for Ito's tools. He has since returned to the agricultural field in which he specialized--a development of stunted cacti."

On August 24, the Pacific Citizen reported another minor, but indicative incident:

"A group of five Nisei on a recent Saturday night sat down at a table in a Washington cafe. One of the group was Tad Ono, a veteran of the 442nd Combat Team, who carried a cane. A waiter came to the table and said, 'The gentleman at that table over there wants to buy all of you drinks. Order whatever you like and I'll take the check to him.'

"When the Nisei appeared a bit hesitant, the waiter assured them it was strictly on the level, and so they ordered. On his way out, the man stopped at the table of the Nisei, who thanked him profusely.

"The man said his son had fought in Italy. 'He has told me all about the 442nd, and this is just my small way of showing my appreciation for the great fighting they all did over there.'"

Although in the past organized labor frequently has led the attack on the Japanese, very early in the resettlement movement, certain segments of the labor movement gave practical support to Japanese Americans. In 1943, for example, the national president of the United Auto Workers sent a letter to all locals of that organization requesting equal treatment of Japanese Americans. On the west coast, the Longshoremen's Union went so far as to suspend several members of the Stockton local, who in the first days of return refused to work with Nisei. That this union has continued friendly is indicated by a recent notation in the vernacular press concerning "Mike Deguchi, shop steward, Local 6 of the ILWU". Similarly, officials of the AF of L Unions in San Francisco in midsummer of 1945 successfully supported the right of Takeo Miyama to work in the shops of the San Francisco municipal railway.

The position of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has varied greatly from locality to locality. In the Seattle area, the Teamsters Union has publically taken the stand that only Nisei veterans may become members, and even veterans have had difficulty in joining. This ruling has been especially difficult for those who wish to enter the cleaning and dyeing business, which is under the jurisdiction of that union.

In Los Angeles, the Teamsters Union, which had maintained segregated locals of Japanese American produce and retail workers before the war, sought early to bar returned evacuees from these fields. Today, there are Nisei union members working in these trades.

In San Jose, both Nisei and Issei hold membership in the Carpenters Union, although generally, the Building Trades Unions continue to exclude Japanese Americans. In the same city the Teamsters Union refused membership. The Culinary Unions, affiliated with the AF of L have not only admitted both Nisei and Issei, but through the war provided forceful support. Several hundreds of Nisei and Issei women hold membership in the Los Angeles locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, an AF of L affiliate, and in lesser numbers, the same is true of the CIO affiliate in the men's clothing field, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The Utah Nippo, published in Salt Lake City, noted in its August 30, 1946 issue:

"Sweetmine, Utah—Franklin Sugiyama has been elected to represent Local Union No. 6511, United Mine Workers of America, at the 39th consecutive convention of the UMW to be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from October 1 to 5.

"Sugiyama, an official of Local 6511, came to Sweetmine from the war relocation center at Poston, Ariz., where he was chairman of the community council. Before evacuation he was in the grocery business in Los Angeles. His brother, Sgt. Togo Sugiyama, was killed in action with the 442nd Combat Team in Italy and has been posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Cross."

In Los Angeles, a Nisei reported:

"I have a job with an advertising company, putting up billboards. Last year about this time, I went to the USES and asked for a job, and they gave me this one. It is a small outfit, and I didn't have any trouble getting

in, or with the workers. Just last week I finally became a full-fledged member of the union. It is the same one that the Hollywood Motion Picture advertisers belong to."

Before the war, the experience of Japanese Americans with unions was limited, partly because many unions were closed to them, and partly because of antagonism on the part of Japanese employers who saw in the union movement a threat to their own business. Some antagonism on the part of unions seeking Nisei members has resulted from reluctance of the latter to join.

Thus, in June of 1946, Michael Mann, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Industrial Union Council appeared before the Chicago Resettlement Committee and his remarks were widely reported in the vernacular press. According to the Colorado Times of June 28, 1946:

"Mann asked for the cooperation of the Chicago Resettlers Committee in interpreting to Japanese Americans the efforts of the CIO to eliminate discrimination and to guarantee the rights of minority groups on a national as well as city wide basis. Japanese Americans had thus far been slow to respond to the labor union movement, he observed."

In Detroit, the UAW solved a similar problem by the temporary employment of a Nisei organizer.

Although noting some reluctance to join unions, field reports have indicated widespread membership in labor unions throughout the Middle West and East, where the bulk of Nisei industrial employment has been secured, and in this respect, assimilation into normal community relationships is well advanced, a condition which represents a notable departure from the prewar situation.

Thus, in summarizing a discussion of present trade union practice with respect to minority groups, the editor of the Pacific Citizen wrote as follows in the January 25, 1947 issue of that paper:

"Skilled trades which once were barred to workers of oriental ancestry in Western States because of the refusal of unions to induct workers of minority race groups are now being opened as discriminatory attitudes lessen. Race myths which once were utilized against workers of oriental ancestry in 'yellow peril' campaigns are being exploded by the consolidation of these workers in the labor movement.

"The changed concept of organized labor in its attitude toward minorities is consistent with the role of trade unions today as instruments for social progress."

Note has been taken earlier of the organized support given Japanese Americans by Resettlement Committees, the Council of Civic Unity, and other community leadership groups. The membership of these bodies, which earlier bore the brunt of opinion formation, gained much experience in combating prejudice and discrimination. The specific task for which these organizations were formed has largely been completed, but in every city of resettlement, there are vestiges of organization which in case of necessity could be mobilized to meet an onslaught of prejudice or discriminatory activity.

Through such groups, the Japanese American people have an experienced and resourceful body of organized friends available for support. Their war and civilian record since evacuation, and the support provided by these influential community elements, has made an attack on Japanese Americans in the style so often employed between 1900 and 1925, hazardous and unprofitable.

If new support has become available to the group from the outside, the American-born have themselves matured during the buffeting of the years since evacuation. Thus, in a postwar statement concerning the widespread distribution brought about by relocation, Dillon S. M'yer, Director of the War Relocation Authority was moved to comment:

"That dispersal is not an excuse for the evacuation, but it is a direct by-product of the evacuation and the relocation program. And that dispersal is healthy for the nation and for the Nisei. It means that the Nisei have learned the vastness of his country. He has discovered the economy, the policies, the culture, the attitudes of the Midwest, the South, and the East. He has taken his place in many pursuits and many surroundings foreign to the familiar Western States.

"That dispersal means that the Nisei--and it was because of the rude shock of evacuation--grew up within a few short months. The dutiful son became a responsible adult. The Nisei became an individual; a mature self-confident, tax-paying man who depended upon his own decisions. It is demonstrably true that the engineering graduate moved from the produce bench in California to a relocation center in Arkansas to a drafting table in Boston."/12

The Japanese American Citizens League, (JACL), which before the war was subordinate in the Japanese community to the numerous Japanese associations, has emerged as the one effective national organization among Japanese Americans. Its publication, the Pacific Citizen, is well edited and responsible, and the contacts maintained by its national officers are substantial throughout the country.

In the fall of 1946, the JACL established an Anti-Discrimination Committee to work on such issues as the Alien Land Law, and the Naturalization of Japanese aliens. Its first major test came in California, where an initiative measure seeking to strengthen the Alien Land Law had been placed on the ballot. After a campaign in which the Anti-Discrimination Committee directed a mailing of literature numbering in the hundreds of thousands, succeeded in mobilizing the support of a large section of the California press, and received help from a wide variety of civic organizations throughout the state, the measure was defeated by a majority of nearly 350,000 of the votes cast.

The trend toward increased acceptance of Japanese Americans as an American equal is strong and in the ascendancy. However, this trend is not unchecked.

Apart from legal discrimination based on the fact that persons born in Japan are ineligible to citizenship, definite evidence of discrimination was found in varying degree in every locality studied. Most of the incidents resulted from individual rather than organized prejudice, and in most communities the number of cases was small. Such incidents related largely to questions of employment and housing, and can be discussed in better perspective in the sections of this report dealing with those matters. It should be noted here, however, that nowhere did prejudice or discrimination bear as heavily upon Japanese Americans as upon other racially disadvantaged groups, and everywhere strong counter measures were being taken by community leadership to secure unprejudiced treatment of Japanese Americans.

Legal Restrictions

From the founding of the United States, extension of the privilege of naturalization has been a legislative, not a constitutional matter. Before the Civil War, naturalization was permitted only to "free white persons." Since that time, the Congress has passed amendments to the original law admitting to citizenship Negroes and "persons indigenous to Africa," "persons indigenous to North and South America," Chinese, and natives of India. The ineligibility to citizenship of aliens born in Japan was decided by the United States Supreme Court decision made in 1923, in the Ozawa case.

Takao Ozawa was born in Japan, but at an early age he moved to Hawaii, and later to the United States. He had resided in American territory for 20 years when he petitioned for citizenship. His petition was based on the claim that the "free white persons" clause of the Naturalization Act was not originally meant to exclude orientals, but only Negroes and Indians, and that the Japanese were included as "free white persons." He asserted that his personal qualifications were of

the best, having graduated from High School in Berkeley, California, having attended the University of California for three years and having raised his family in an American manner.

His original petition and an appeal to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals were both denied. In upholding the rulings of the lower courts, the U. S. Supreme Court held:

"It may be true that these two races (Negroes and Indians) were alone thought of as being excluded, but to say that they were the only ones within the intent of the statute would be to ignore the affirmative form of the legislation. The provision is not that Negroes and Indians shall be excluded, but it is, in effect, that only free white persons shall be included. The intention was to confer the privilege of citizenship upon that class of persons whom the fathers knew as white, and to deny it to all who could not be so classified. It is not enough to say that the framers did not have in mind the brown or yellow races of Asia. It is necessary to go farther and be able to say that, had these particular races been suggested, the language of the act would have been so varied as to include them within the privilege....It is sufficient to ascertain whom they intended to include; and, having ascertained that, it follows, as a necessary corollary, that all others are to be excluded."/13

With the Ozawa ruling, serious efforts by Japanese aliens to secure citizenship were abandoned until the present.

Following World War II, in which a considerable number of Japanese aliens served the United States in language schools, the Army Map Service, and in several highly confidential war agencies, and for which they furnished more than 23,000 of their sons to the armed services, the question of citizenship again has been brought to the fore.

Thus, Delegate Joseph R. Farrington of Hawaii introduced into the 79th Congress a bill to remove racial restrictions from the Naturalization Act. No action was taken. In the 80th Congress, he was joined by Senator William Langer of North Dakota, in presentation of a similar bill. (HR 857 and S602.)

To Japanese aliens, the ability to gain citizenship is much more than a matter of sentiment. Like aliens of other derivation, they are unable to secure licenses to practice in many of the professions. For example, all states require that attorneys be citizens, 22 have citizenship or declarations of intent as a requirement of architects, 9 of barbers, 48 of certified public accountants, 26 of dentists, 17 of funeral directors, 25 of physicians, and 18 of teachers. Unlike aliens

of most other nationalities, however, the Japanese alien is unable to secure citizenship and thus is permanently barred from these occupations.

In California, legislation was passed during the war to prohibit aliens ineligible to citizenship the privilege of commercial fishing. This measure bars approximately 200 individuals from their previous occupation. In a test case on this question, the Los Angeles Superior Court held that this legislation was a "thin veil to conceal a purpose" (to discriminate against Japanese), and that it violated the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution by denying to alien Japanese the equal protection of the laws. The case is now pending before the California Supreme Court.

The abrogation of trade treaties between Japan and the United States in 1940, has raised the question whether alien Japanese may have the right to lease property for commercial or residential purposes. A test case arose in Stockton, California, when a landlord started proceedings to cancel a lease on a theater. In describing the case, the Pacific Citizen of December 28, 1946, stated:

"The landlord contended that because of the non-existence of a treaty an alien Japanese no longer has the right to lease commercial property and therefore the contract was void. The trial held that there was no lease. Upon appeal the District Court of Appeals held that the interpretation of the term, 'treaty not existing,' meant that the Treaty of 1911 was incorporated as a part of the California Alien Land Law and that the subsequent abrogation made no difference.

"The California Supreme Court agreed to review the case. Until a final decision is rendered, this question remains in abeyance. Until the matter is settled, the reestablishment of businesses by alien Japanese evacuees remains a difficult problem."

Deportation proceedings against several hundred "treaty merchants" have been started by the U. S. Department of Justice, a situation which likewise results from the 1940 abrogation of the treaty with Japan. Since the persons involved are ineligible to citizenship, that Department has had no discretion in dealing with hardship cases, even though some have performed war service for the United States Government, and many had sons in the armed forces.

To meet this situation, some seventy private bills have been introduced in the 79th and 80th Congresses. In addition to bills specifically applying to individuals, several general bills have been introduced which would permit discretion by the Department of Justice. In deference to these bills, none of the outstanding deportation orders had been carried through at the time of writing this report.

The matters relating to ineligibility to citizenship noted above, while of great urgency to those immediately involved, are outranked in importance to the whole group by the restrictions placed upon ownership of farm property by the Alien Land Laws of the West Coast States. The economic welfare of a larger number of returned evacuees is more directly tied up with agriculture than with any other enterprise. For this reason, and because the process by which the Alien Land Laws grew to their present stringency provides an insight into the means by which past anti-Japanese sentiment has been written into statute, the development of these laws will be traced in some detail in the section immediately following.

Alien Land Laws

Since 1913, California statute books have carried a law prohibiting ownership of farm property by "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The Alien Land Laws of Oregon, as well as those of a number of other Western States appear largely to have been patterned after their California counterpart. The Alien Land Laws of the State of Washington antedate those of California, but have a similar effect. Action has not been taken under the provisions of the laws of these states since the west coast exclusion was lifted.* A review of the California Alien Land Law will suffice, therefore, to provide the essential background for an understanding of the adjustment problem related to such statutes.

The first alien land measure was offered the California Legislature in 1907. It was defeated in large part by the intervention of the Federal Government, which was concerned with relations with Japan. Similar bills were offered in 1909 and 1911, but again failed of passage. By the latter year, not only was there "the Gentlemen's Agreement" limiting immigration, but the Japanese-American treaty of 1911 had been signed. With the participation of Japan in the forthcoming Panama-Pacific Exposition not yet definite, the record indicates less pressure for enactment.

During the 1909 debate, Assemblyman Grove Johnson (quoted on page one of the San Francisco Chronicle of December 4) stated the case of the exclusion of orientals from California agriculture in the following terms:

"I would rather every foot of California was in its native wilderness than to be cursed by the foot of these yellow invaders, who are a curse to the country, a menace to our institutions, and destructive of every principle of Americanism. I want no aliens, white, red, black, or yellow to own a foot of land in the State of California."

*Since this was written, suit has been filed by Kenji and Etsuo Namba in the Multnomah County Circuit Court seeking a declaratory judgment declaring the Oregon Alien Land Law unconstitutional.

This viewpoint was not entirely unchallenged. In an official report, which the California Legislature ordered, but later suppressed, State Labor Commissioner J. D. McKenzie is quoted as having said:

"The Japanese land owners are of the best class; they are steady and industrious, and from their earnings purchase land of low value and poor quality. The care lavished upon this land is remarkable, and frequently its acreage has increased several hundred per cent in a year's time....Most of the proprietors indicate an intention to make the section in which they have located a permanent home, and to adopt American customs and manners....Some form of labor such as is now represented by the Japanese is essential for the continuance and development of agricultural industry of California. 14

The years from the offering of the first alien land bill to enactment of the 1913 Alien Land Law happened also to cover the period when enterprising Japanese were first meeting with success in large scale development of California waste land. Notable among these were Shima, the "potato king" who transformed worthless swamp land along the San Joaquin River, and Ikuta, the "rice wizard" who first proved the feasibility of commercial rice production on the alkali lands of Sutter, Yuba, Colusa, Glenn and Butte Counties.

With the outstanding success of these Japanese farmers and others elsewhere in the state before them, the 1913 legislature ignored the Federal request for caution, presented in person by Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, and wrote into law provisions denying "aliens ineligible to citizenship" the privilege of buying land for agricultural use in California, and allowed them to lease land for agricultural purposes for no more than three years.

Corporations, a majority of whose members were aliens ineligible to citizenship or a majority of whose issued capital stock was owned by such aliens, likewise came within the prohibitions of the law.

The act was so drawn that it did not technically conflict with any of the provisions of the Japanese-American treaty of 1911. That treaty authorized Japanese to lease and occupy land for residential and commercial purposes but made no mention of agricultural lands. The 1913 land law was the subject of an extended protest on the part of the Japanese Government, but the question was allowed to lapse as both countries became increasingly occupied with the developments of World War I.

This statute marked the introduction of the term "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Opposition had developed to earlier measures involving agricultural property of aliens of European descent. By the device of

specifically naming "aliens ineligible to citizenship" it was possible to single out orientals, which in practical application meant the Japanese. It served also to place responsibility for this discrimination upon the Federal Government, which by law and interpretation had refused the privilege of naturalization to oriental peoples.

While restriction of Japanese farm competition was an immediate purpose of the 1913 law, the evidence is plain that it was desired also as a means of discouraging Japanese residence generally. Thus in a speech before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco delivered August 9, 1913, States Attorney General, Ulysses S. Webb, an author of the Alien Land Act of that year declared:

"The fundamental basis of all legislation upon this subject, State and Federal, has been, and is, race undesirability. It is unimportant and foreign to the question under discussion whether a particular race is inferior. The simple and single question is, is the race desirable... It (the law) seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they may enjoy here; for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land. And it seeks to limit the numbers who will come by limiting the opportunities for their activity here when they arrive." 15

It may be noted that the Alien Land Law was not retroactive, and that the privilege of ownership of land was not jeopardized for those ineligible aliens who had possessed agricultural property prior to its enactment.

World War I, which provided a growing demand for foodstuffs of all kinds, began but one year after the law went into effect. It became expedient to take advantage of the unquestioned ability of the Japanese to produce food, and if violations of the law occurred, the record for the war years make no mention of widespread prosecution.

In 1920, an initiative measure placed on the ballot and supported by all political parties sought to tighten the 1913 act. Under it, aliens ineligible to citizenship could acquire or enjoy interest in real property only to the extent provided in any treaty existing between the United States and the country of the alien. Since the Treaty of 1911 between Japan and the United States contained no provision authorizing an alien of Japanese origin to acquire or lease land for agricultural purposes, and ineligible aliens were not permitted to acquire stock in any company authorized to enjoy real property, other than provided by treaty, cropping contracts provided the only legal means by which an alien Japanese could acquire and cultivate land. Although opposed by a number of influential groups, the initiative measure carried

668,483 to 222,086, and after becoming law on December 9, 1920, superseded the 1913 Act.

To strengthen the Act further, a new statute was added to the California Code of Civil Procedure on May 31, 1923. This statute (175a) provided:

"No persons ineligible to citizenship in the United States and no company, association, or corporation of which a majority of the members are aliens ineligible to citizenship in the United States, or on which a majority of the issued capital stock is owned by such aliens, may be appointed guardian of any estate which consists in whole or in part of real property."

It should be noted at this point, that a test case arising from the similar Alien Land Law of the State of Washington had been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States in *Terrance vs Thompson* (263 U.S. 197) and that the constitutionality of the act was affirmed. In the California case of *Webb vs O'Brien* (263 U.S. 313), this opinion was drawn upon in the following argument:

"Conceivably, by the use of such contract, (sharecropping) the population living on and cultivating the farm lands might come to be made up largely of ineligible aliens. The allegiance of the farmers to the state directly affects its strength and safety. We think it within the power of the state to deny to ineligible aliens the privilege so to use agricultural lands within its borders...Racial distinctions may furnish legitimate grounds for classifications under some conditions of social or governmental necessities."

In May 1927, the California Legislature passed an amendment to the previous acts requiring that where the fact of citizenship was at issue in connection with enforcement of the Alien Land Laws, the cost of proof must be borne by the individual involved.

Development of the Alien Land Law was a continuing process designed to exclude Japanese farmers from participation in California agriculture. As loopholes permitting Japanese farming activities were uncovered, new and more specific amendments were passed. Thus, the amendments of 1923 attacking the problem of guardianship were enacted against the backdrop of the *Yano* case in which the Supreme Court of California had ruled against the state.*

* In the *Estate of Yano*, the California Supreme Court ruled in part: "The Initiatory Act of 1920, Section Four, forbids the appointment of any alien not eligible to citizenship as (cont'd on following page)

A second breach in the effectiveness of the Alien Land Laws was the later ruling of the Superior Court of Sonoma County in the Fujita case:

"Children born in California of Japanese parentage are citizens of the United States and of California, and are entitled to the same rights of property, real and personal, as other citizens, irrespective of their racial descent; a Japanese father though incompetent himself to acquire real property may furnish money in good faith for the purchase of real property for his minor children, who are citizens of the United States; minor children have the same right to acquire real property as adults, and if a gift of real property is made by deed to minors, delivery and acceptance will be presumed; Japanese aliens are entitled to the possession of real property for residential and commercial purposes under Article 1 of the Treaty of 1911 between the United States and Japan; a Japanese alien parent otherwise competent is entitled to be appointed guardian of the person and estate of his citizen child and the citizen child has the right to have his alien Japanese parent appointed such guardian." /16

In February of 1935 a bill was submitted unsuccessfully to the California Legislature which would have prohibited absolutely any ineligible alien from engaging in agriculture under any circumstances. Again in 1937 a bill designed to prevent Japanese aliens from vesting titles to rural property in the names of their native-born children and from acting as "caretaking guardians" of land so acquired was presented. The intent was to enable the state to prosecute an individual violator of the law without resort to conspiracy charges, which as the matter then stood, frequently involved infants. These amendments also failed, and it was not until 1943, when all persons of Japanese ancestry were in relocation centers, that their substance was enacted into law.

The enforcement of the Alien Land Law up to the time of the evacuation cannot be called effective. From the standpoint of the Japanese, a means of accommodation to the law had been found.

Thus, writing in 1934, E. K. Strong notes that:

"When it is to the advantage of the whites to lease their land to Japanese, they find a way to do it....One reason why the

guardian of a minor with respect to...agricultural land belonging to such minor. In this respect the Initiative Act of 1920 is clearly a violation of the guarantee contained in Section 1 of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, that no state 'shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'"

anti-alien land laws have been disregarded is that they worked a hardship upon the white landowners as well as upon the Japanese....As far as could be discovered by our interviewers, the land law is non-operative in many sections of the state if not in all parts. It makes it very difficult for the Japanese to obtain title, but for all practical purposes he can do so if his go-between is honest. More recently, owing to California Supreme Court decisions, he can take title in the name of his native-born children." /17

A similar comment is provided by Carey McWilliams, writing in 1943:

"Enforcement of the Alien Land Act of 1920 was vested in local law enforcement officials. When a 'white person' in one of these counties wanted to lease land to a Japanese, he usually had no difficulty in doing so. Local district attorneys enforced the act when they wanted to enforce it; and they obligingly ignored evasions of the act when it suited their interests to do so. The act was easily evaded; title to farm land was placed in the names of Hawaiian or American-born Japanese; verbal agreements were entered into--'gentlemen's agreements'--that ran counter to the terms of written documents; Japanese were employed as 'managers' instead of as 'tenants.' By these and other devices, and with the connivance of law enforcement officials, the act was blithely ignored. The amount of land escheated to the state under this statute is wholly negligible." /18

By the complete exclusion of all persons of Japanese descent, the evacuation destroyed this accommodation in agriculture, something the State of California had been unable to accomplish in nearly 30 years of legislative enactment. In 1943, when all persons of Japanese descent, citizens and aliens alike, were branded by mass exclusion, and war fervor was at its height, the California Legislature again enacted legislation amending the Alien Land Law to close loopholes which had heretofore prevented realization of its basic purpose.

Among other things, the new amendments provided that the interest in land both of the landlord or owner and that of the alien shall revert to the state where the Alien Land Law has been violated; that any violation of the Alien Land Law is a criminal offense, not merely a conspiracy to violate it; and gave the Attorney General of the State and District Attorney of a county the right to use criminal, civil, and injunctive processes against an owner or lessor of land, where the owner or lessor transferred an interest in his property to another with the knowledge that an ineligible alien would be allowed to use it.

During the war years, Congress successively gave the right of naturalization to the Chinese and Philippine people, and to the people indigenous to India. With minute exceptions, the legal effect of the Alien Land Laws now rests exclusively on persons of Japanese descent.

During 1945 the Army lifted its exclusion orders, and the evacuated people were free to live in West Coast States. Among the first few who returned were holders of agricultural property. Also in 1945, the California Legislature passed an act appropriating \$200,000 to the State Justice Department for enforcement of the Alien Land Law. This measure provided that the proceeds of the sales of escheated land be divided equally between the State and the county wherein the real property was located. It is noteworthy that while the State Attorney General then in office had asked without success for repeal of the Alien Land Law, his office ordered investigations which by late 1946 had resulted in the entering of more than 60 charges of Alien Land Law violation in the California courts.

In the same year, 1945, according to a columnist writing in the November 2, 1946 issue of the Pacific Citizen:

"State Senator Jack Tenny of Los Angeles had attempted to obtain passage of a joint resolution to Congress asking for the deportation of all persons of Japanese ancestry, presumably including Nisei war veterans, and the permanent exclusion of all persons of Japanese ancestry from California....Tenny.... failed in this, partly because State Senator Shelly brought 10 decorated veterans of the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Combat Team into the Senate Chamber at the time when questions involving Japanese Americans were being debated, but succeeded in obtaining authorization to submit State Constitution Amendment No. 17, the validation of legislative amendments to the Alien Land Law."

This amendment appeared on the November 5, 1946 ballot as Proposition 15, "Validation of Legislative Amendments to Alien Land Law." In their arguments in favor of this measure, Senators Jack Tenny of Los Angeles County and Hugh M. Burns, of Fresno County stated in part:

"This amendment merely validates statutes pursuant to the Alien Land Laws heretofore enacted by the Legislature and now in full force and effect.

"Its enactment by the people will close loopholes in legislative enactments based on constitutional grounds.

"It is well known that Japanese aliens, in order to conceal true ownership of property, have indulged in all manner of

subterfuges. These aliens have resorted to the use of 'dummy' corporations, American-born Japanese children and other nefarious schemes and devices that, on the record, conceal the true identity of the owners of property." 19

While by initiative measure the proponents of Japanese exclusion were attempting to "close loopholes in legislative enactment of the Alien Land Law," the California Supreme Court was hearing an appeal from the decision of the Superior Court in the case of Oyama, et al. Because some 60 cases were dependent on the ruling in this, the first to reach the State Supreme Court following enactment of the 1943 amendments, the Oyama case became a test of primary importance.

The Superior Court of San Diego County had held it to be the presumption of the Alien Land Law that if an alien ineligible to citizenship pays the consideration and takes title in another's names, there is a violation, and judgment was given the State.

The facts in the case were not at issue. As stated by counsel for the Japanese American Citizens League, Saburo Kido:

"The facts...are as follows: an alien Japanese father (ineligible to citizenship) purchased a tract of land for his citizen son, Fred Oyama, a minor. Letters of guardianship were obtained from the court, and on two occasions when money was borrowed, the order of the court was obtained. However, the father had not kept a separate bank account nor filed an accounting or reports pertaining to the management of the property."

Three major points were urged by the Oyama attorneys:

"(1) that the act was unconstitutional; (2) that the statute of limitations applied; (3) that the parents had the right to make a gift of real property and once title was vested in the citizen, his ownership was absolute." 20

On October 31, 1946, the California Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the trial court on all counts. Taking notice of the Yano (188 Cal 645) precedent, it stated:

"Section 4 of the statute, as originally enacted, denied to an alien parent the right to become the guardian of the estate of his native-born and was held invalid. However, in 1943, the legislature amended that section, allowing the appointment of an alien guardian but preventing such guardian from enjoying, either directly or indirectly, the beneficial use of land owned by the minor.

"The property in question passed to the State of California by reason of deficiencies existing in the ineligible alien, and not in the citizen Oyama. The citizen is not denied any constitutional guarantees because an ineligible alien, for the purpose of evading the Alien Land Law, attempted to pass title to him. It is the deficiency of the alien father and not of the citizen son which is the controlling factor; therefore, any constitutional guarantees to which the citizen Oyama is entitled may not properly be considered, for the deficiency in a person other than himself is the cause for the escheat. Property which the citizen never had he could not lose, and as the land escheated to the state instantly, he acquired nothing by the conveyance and the Alien Land Law took nothing from him."

Regarding the question of citizenship, the opinion noted:

"The determination as to the eligibility to citizenship rests exclusively with the Federal Government and is fixed by Congress in the naturalization laws. Whomever it endows with the right to become a citizen may acquire and own land in California."
/21

Elsewhere the California Supreme Court quoted from the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Terrance vs Thompson (263 U.S. 197):

"The broad basis of the decision is that one who is not a citizen and cannot become one lacks an interest in, and the power to effectually work for the welfare of, the state, and, so lacking, the state may rightfully deny him the right to own and lease real estate within its boundaries."

At another point in its opinion the court provided an authoritative summary of the Alien Land Law and sharply defined its purpose:

"The clear and unmistakable purpose of the Alien Land Law at all times since it was enacted by the people as an initiative measure has been to place the ownership of real property in this state beyond the reach of an alien ineligible to citizenship. Not only is such an alien prohibited from acquiring real property, or any interest therein, the statute expressly provides that he shall not possess, enjoy, use, cultivate, or occupy land. He may not convey real property, or any interest therein, or have, in whole or in part, the beneficial use of land, and any attempted transfer to an ineligible alien is void as to the state. These provisions...state broad principles of public policy relating to the ownership of land and declare that any conveyance made in violation of the mandate of the people shall be void."/21

Five days after the Oyama decision, Proposition 15, Validation of the Legislative Amendments to the Alien Land Law came before the people of California in the November 5 general election.

In the weeks preceding, the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League, together with a number of civic organizations, had been working to defeat this measure. In the campaign, wide circulation was given to a letter originally sent to the Los Angeles Daily News on October 14, 1946, by a Japanese American serviceman, Akira Iwamura. It reads as follows:

"I am ex-sgt. Akira Iwamura, 26, and I'm puzzled. My brother and I came out of the Army to find an alien land law suit to escheat my farm and evict the family from my home.

"Your newspaper, and the magazines and newsreels told about the 442nd Infantry Regiment, made up of Japanese Americans. They praised its combat record and said the terrific casualties suffered bought the right to fair play for us and our families.

"My brother Cecil is 24 but his black hair is streaked with gray. He sweated it out and got wounded with the 442nd as they fought in Italy. In the battle for Germany he aided in the 'Rescue of the Lost Battalion.'

"While my brother Cecil was in the European hot spots with his regiment, I was in the South Pacific with the Nisei Intelligence. We both thought we were fighting to keep our family and home safe. In Manila I helped draw up charges against the Japanese War Criminals.

"I came home and read the alien land law court summons to take away my farm. I read the **arguments for** Proposition 15 to strengthen the alien land law. They sound like criminal indictments. Why are we hounded like outlaws?

"Many in our outfits died to prove Americanism is in the heart; looks and nationality don't count. My folks have lived here for 40 years under the present law which bars them from citizenship. We were born in Fresno County, but because my folks happen to come from Japan my farm and home are being taken away from me.

"Why does California with its alien land law keep kicking us in the teeth? Don't purple hearts and Presidential Unit Citations mean anything? Maybe some of my Nisei buddies who died in Italy, Germany, Okinawa, and other combat fronts might have

been the lucky guys. They're not home to face this kind of pushing around.

"I thought gold stars, combat awards, and official citations meant something. Is California laughing at us Japanese American veterans and our war honors? Then why is Proposition 15 on the November 5 ballot? I'm wondering."

In his letter, Akira Iwamura brought attention to one changed factor in the California land problem, that citizen children of alien Japanese parents have arrived at an age to farm in their own right, and that in consequence, the full intent of the Alien Land Law now rests on the citizen generation.

A second change was registered when, in the official election returns on Proposition 15, 1,143,780 votes were tabulated against to 797,067 votes in favor of this measure designed to tighten the law excluding the Japanese from enjoyment of agriculture.

The Japanese American Citizens' League hailed these results. Mike M. Masaoka, executive secretary of the JACL Anti-Discrimination Committee was quoted by the November 9, 1946 issue of the Pacific Citizen:

"The election results prove that most Californians feel that Japanese Americans and their Issei parents have earned the right to justice and fair treatment....They provide the first real public opinion poll of California citizens on an issue involving the state's residents of Japanese ancestry since 1920The lesson of the vote on Proposition 15 is that the war is over and the people of California will not approve discriminatory and prejudiced treatment of persons of Japanese ancestry."

Whatever the ultimate meaning of the vote on Proposition 15, no basic law had been changed. Within a few days of the election, attorneys for Oyama petitioned the California Supreme Court for a rehearing, listing among their arguments the rejection of Proposition 15 at the polls. The petition for rehearing was denied.

Elsewhere in the petition for rehearing it was argued that:

"If a Caucasian alien, instead of a Japanese alien, transferred real property to his son as a gift, and the deed thereto was duly recorded, it seems clear that the Caucasian son would have title to said property, as against the world, including his Caucasian father. So should a Japanese American son, under the foregoing federal statute, as well as by virtue of federal and state constitutional guarantees."

It was further argued that:

"The statute, in its present form by prohibiting an ineligible alien from even 'occupying' land, deprives him of the right to live in his home - or any home." /22

Elsewhere, legal representatives of Oyama were moved to comment:

"In its strict interpretation (the Alien Land Law) could mean that Japanese Nationals could not even live on the same land, or in the same home with their citizen child. This ruling negates the public policy of any state to encourage gifts from parents to their children (in return for) support and maintenance of the aged parents."

It is not the purpose of this report to comment concerning the issues which brought the California Alien Land Law into being or that guided the nature of its amendment. Both the broad constitutional issue and the legal technicalities of its application are the province of the courts.

What has been important in an attempt to discuss the adjustments being made by the evacuated Japanese Americans are the forces that affect their security and the process of their resettlement. The present effect of the Alien Land Law on that adjustment is large, since a considerable proportion of these people have been and remain dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood. In the preparation of this report, no other problem facing the Japanese American people was found to represent so serious an obstacle to adjustment.

The Oyama case has been accepted for review by the United States Supreme Court. Unless that Court upsets the precedent of *Terrance vs Thompson*, or there is a change or elimination of the statute, the affirmation of the Alien Land Law in the Oyama case provides judicial sanction for a stronger law than has heretofore been available to "place the ownership of real property (in California) beyond the reach of an alien ineligible to citizenship."

To quote the San Francisco Chronicle, the provisions of the present law:

"Puts in jeopardy all parties to any transaction in and upon which a single non-citizen Japanese might turn over a spadeful of earth or pluck a strawberry to his own benefit." /23

d.
Chapter III

ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

The economic welfare of the Japanese Americans living in the West Coast States before the war depended upon the prosperity of Japanese-operated farms; the growing of crops and the marketing of farm products engaged nearly two-thirds of the working force of Issei and Nisei.* Except that the ultimate markets for fresh produce were largely outside the Japanese community, the basic means of livelihood were largely within its control. In a situation where prejudice and discrimination was not infrequent, such within-group control was important.

The evacuation destroyed the economic structure of the prewar Japanese communities of the west coast. The relocation program scattered the people, and not more than six out of ten have returned. A fourth of the prewar farm operators retained property to which they could come back, but except for these and the few who left business establishments with competent and trustworthy managers, most of the evacuees returning to their former communities found it necessary to start from the beginning, much like those who settled in the Midwest and East. The complex and far reaching structure built around the growing, processing, and marketing of farm crops has not been revived.

(Five years after evacuation, the most obvious economic effect of that order is a change from dependence for livelihood on an economy fundamentally within the control of the Japanese community to general dependence by the Japanese American people everywhere upon employment found in the general community.)

(With few exceptions, the able bodied have secured well paying employment, both in the East and on the west coast. In five years, public

*While it is true that Japanese American residents of San Francisco and Seattle had other important sources of livelihood, the pattern of in-group control of economic enterprise and employment was similar.

sentiment has changed from one of deep suspicion to that of favorable acceptance in most sections of the country. Without question, by the end of 1946 more Japanese Americans were employed in work for which they had been trained than ever had been the case before the war, and those working in positions requiring less skill or training are as well off in this period of full employment as other Americans.*)

The present emphasis on employment should not obscure the fact that there has been some postwar business development on the west coast, or that in new centers of Japanese American population such as Chicago, Salt Lake City, and Denver, business activity began shortly after resettlement got underway. However, the enterprises so far established do not have the economic strength of those existing before the war, and in terms of the whole group have been a minor source of livelihood. Trade with Japan, which before the war was important to those living in

*Note should be taken that a number of difficulties are present in an attempt to compare present employment opportunities of Japanese Americans with those existing before the war. The evacuation came about before the full sweep of wartime employment had replaced the slack labor market of the 1930's, when well trained Caucasians were having great difficulty in finding work. To a Nisei engineering graduate forced to utilize his talents at a corner fruit stand, there were obvious difficulties then in distinguishing between discrimination and the bleak prospects of all job seekers. There is some feeling among Nisei also, that if they had been permitted to remain at home, war man power shortages would have opened positions to them comparable to those later found farther east.

Conversely, his present favorable employment situation has yet to be tested by hard times, and not a few are fearful that in the event of a depression, he will be the first fired. At this writing there can be no certainty whether these fears have a basis in reality or not. It can be stated with some assurance, however, that in the Midwest and East many have achieved an excellent work record and that their acceptance in most shops and offices is much better than that of mere tolerance. It may also be noted that during the retrenchment period immediately following the end of hostilities the fear of widespread unemployment among Nisei did not materialize, few being affected by reconversion of heavy industry. The fact that as lay-offs occurred, many left Eastern and Midwestern cities without seeking new work may obscure the evidence to some degree; however, few cases are known where persistent search for employment was unsuccessful.

Seattle, San Francisco, and New York, has not been resumed. (One new factor in the postwar business situation has been a growing patronage by Negroes. This grew from the fact that settlement in Eastern cities was largely in "fringe areas" and that on the west coast, Negro population largely replaced the Japanese after the latter were evacuated. In a few cities, however, notably Washington, D. C., there is evidence that Japanese enterprises have purposely located their stores in Negro districts to secure trade from that group.)

The people are working excessively hard, particularly in the West, where they have had a shorter time in which to establish themselves. A gardener who works near Palo Alto noted:

"Everybody I know around here is making money. Most people are earning more than ever before. But there is practically no social life. People haven't the heart for it. Everybody is still too unsettled. Not many expect to stay where they are. They are saving so they can get into something else when the chance comes. So everybody just works-- evenings, Sundays, all of the time." /1

local note

His statement provides a basic insight for the understanding of the economic activity among Japanese Americans on the west coast. (Everything is secondary to work. The people are driven by insecurity and a sense of urgency. They must make up their losses, prepare for future uncertainties, and get ready to take advantage of opportunities that may come along. And these things must be done now while jobs are abundant and wages high.)

Among other notable changes in the postwar adjustment of Japanese Americans as compared with their prewar economic arrangements, mention should be made of the very marked increase in the employment of women, both Issei and Nisei; of the decline in the relative economic importance of first generation men as compared with Nisei, both in employment, farming, and business; and of the fact that many times more Japanese Americans are now receiving public welfare assistance.

(Before the war, the number of Japanese Americans receiving public assistance was so negligible as to be the cause of widespread comment. Many who stayed in the War Relocation Authority centers until late in 1945 were unable to reestablish themselves without help. Nearly all of these returned to the west coast, with dependence on public assistance most widespread immediately after the centers were closed, when several thousand were on relief rolls. At the close of 1946, the number receiving relief in these three states was still well above a thousand, primarily the old and feeble, but including also a number who had large

families and were unable to find work and housing adequate for their needs. The feeling of stigma attached to acceptance of public assistance has been greatly weakened by the evacuation experience; ill fortune was caused by public action, they believe, and many have come to accept the idea that assistance is a public responsibility properly to be accepted. Furthermore, assistance from within the Japanese American group, which before the war was made available through the various Japanese associations and prefectural societies, is no longer available, since these organizations have not been revived, nor are group resources sufficient to carry the present load.)

(In addition there is little, if any, opportunity for the older people to get into productive employment, and living costs in most instances now prohibit children from assuming responsibility for the care of their aged parents or other relatives.)

(In spite of these difficulties, however, the number on relief at the end of 1945 had been more than halved by the close of 1946.) The Director of the Bureau of Public Assistance in one of the larger west coast cities noted:

"Many of the younger Japanese appear to be working out their resettlement problems satisfactorily. For several months the Bureau has employed four full time counselors, one of whom devoted most of her efforts toward developing employment opportunities and referring persons to jobs. It was her experience that once the person got started in private employment, much of his adjustment took care of itself."2

Elsewhere in the country there has been almost no need for public assistance, a fact partly due to the general policy of returning indigents to the "county of original residence" and partly because those who were worst off remained in the centers until the last. Late in 1946 a check with welfare authorities in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Detroit revealed only one known case where public help was being received, from among an evacuee population of between 3,500 and 4,000. An inquiry made of Chicago authorities in April of 1947 brought the response that cases of indigency among Japanese Americans in that city were so few in number as to have escape special notice. Likewise from Denver, word was received that not more than six or seven individuals had received help during the past year.

From the brief summary above it has been seen that the economic experience of the evacuated Japanese Americans has been far from uniform. In part this has resulted from individual differences of ability, training, outlook, and family responsibility among them, and in part by

differences in length of time since leaving the centers. It is now considerably less than two years since the relocation centers were closed, a period far too short for the working out of stable adjustments following a disruption as catastrophic as that provided by evacuation. Although many have reported high earnings in the post-evacuation period, many retain doubts concerning a future which appears to bear little relationship to prewar experience. Another five years, at least, will be required before the full economic effect of the evacuation can be measured.

The contrasts and uncertainties of economic adjustment, noted above, have made the coherent presentation of the more detailed discussion of this subject difficult. To at least partially solve this problem, the remaining sections of this chapter are divided into separate discussions of the particular localities covered, and to some extent according to the kind of occupation. Brief notes on the prewar situation will be found at the beginning of those parts where such information is pertinent to the discussion of present adjustment. Since agriculture and related business activity provided the most important source of livelihood before the war, and agriculture remains the largest single type of enterprise, this will be given first attention. However, before going into this detailed discussion, the matter of financial loss attributable to the evacuation will be examined briefly, and an account given of the nature and present status of legislation proposed to compensate those who suffered such loss.

Evacuation Loss and Remedial Legislation

While comprehensive and accurate information concerning losses caused by the evacuation has not been available, logically, the heaviest individual losses could be expected to have been suffered by business men and farmers. In the aggregate, however, damage to household goods through vandalism and breach of trust, plus loss of income while the people were in relocation centers, may equal business and farm losses. Because operation of business enterprises and farms was largely in Issei hands, and relatively few Nisei were established in an independent household, by far the greatest proportion of the total loss was borne by the first generation Japanese Americans. However, those Nisei who may have expected financial support in opening a business or a substantial inheritance, have been indirectly affected.

Information available to the War Relocation Authority at the time that agency was liquidated has been summed up in a report entitled "The Wartime Handling of Evacuee Property" which outlines governmental efforts to minimize evacuation losses and provides a number of case examples. A series of brief quotations from that document follows:

"Although it is a recognized fact that few tenants lavish such care on property as would the owner, the neglect and destruction of evacuee property by substitute operators during the period of the owner's exclusion from the west coast far transcends the ordinary carelessness of tenants. Too, the fact that prejudice against the Japanese American minority was so strong on the west coast during a considerable part of the war period that the public conscience was highly insensitive to pilfering and vandalism committed against the stored possessions or buildings of the exiled people, encouraged the lawless to commit increasingly bold acts at the expense of the absent owners. The full extent of damage and loss has come to light only with the return of the evacuees to their former homes since the rescission of the military exclusion orders which sent the evacuees into exile.

"It is too early yet for any sort of final estimate to be made of actual financial and property losses sustained by the Japanese Americans because of the enforced evacuation, but it is recognized that their losses have been heavy. Some lost everything they had; many lost most of what they had. Many lost their chance of income and security in their old age through inability to keep up payments on insurance policies. Others lost property through inability to pay taxes. Individual losses vary in amount from a few hundred to many thousands of dollars.

"According to an estimate made by Mr. Russell T. Robinson, War Relocation Authority Chief of Evacuee Property, in 1942, the evacuated people left behind them about \$200,000,000 worth of real, personal, and commercial property. It is known that losses have mounted to many millions of dollars.

"It is known that many evacuees who had leaseholds upon farms have lost them by transfer to operators of other races during the years of exclusion. It was estimated by Adon Poli and Warren M. Engstrand, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, in the fall of 1945 that whereas 'farm ownership by Japanese amounted to about 30 percent of their total prewar farm operations, ownership transfers to non-evacuees during and after evacuation has probably reduced these farm ownership interests to less than a fourth of the total prewar Japanese land holdings, including leaseholds. This will amount to roughly 60,000 acres, or less than 0.002 percent of all of the land in all farms in the three states.'" /3

The attitude of Japanese Americans toward loss caused by evacuation is seldom expressed in a display of bitterness; there is hope of recovery through federal action, but the people are not sitting back to wait for a check from the government. The words of an Issei interviewed in Santa Clara County sums up the attitude and spirit of the first generation who had returned to the west coast:

"Before war I had 20 acres in Berryessa. Good land, two good houses, one big. 1943 in camp everybody say sell, sell, sell. Maybe lose all. Lawyer write, he say sell. I sell \$650 acre. Now the same land \$1500 acre. I lose. I cannot help. All gone. Now I live in hostel. Work like when first come to this country. Pick cherries, pick pears, pick apricots, pick tomatoes. Just like when first come. Pretty soon, maybe one year, maybe two years, find place. Pretty hard now. Now spend \$15,000 just for land. No good material for house. No get farm equipment.

"No use look back. Go crazy think about all lost. Have to start all over again like when come from Japan, but faster this time."/1

Like this man, most of the older generation have their eyes on the future. Many are working desperately hard at unaccustomed tasks in an effort to build up a small reserve for retirement or with which to start a small business.

In recognition of responsibility on the part of the United States Government for certain types of loss brought about by the evacuation, the U. S. Department of the Interior in 1946 sponsored legislation in the 79th Congress to establish an Evacuee Claims Commission empowered to take evidence and to settle claims up to \$2,500. This legislation was approved unanimously by the Senate, but was blocked in the House of Representatives, when, during the last week of the session, unanimous consent to its passage could not be secured. An identical bill was placed before the 80th Congress during the spring of 1947.

The basis of this request by the Department of the Interior for legislation to establish an evacuee claims commission, together with a description of its technical provisions is set out in detail in Secretary Julius A. Krug's letter of transmittal to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate. Pertinent sections of the letter follow:

"The chief military justification for the removal of those 110,000 persons was the possibility of the existence of a disloyal element in their midst, the critical military situation in the Pacific which increased uneasiness

over the possibility of espionage or sabotage, and the lack of time and facilities for individual loyalty screening. The persons evacuated were not individually charged with any crime or with disloyalty, and subsequent experience has clearly demonstrated that the vast majority of them were and are good Americans. This is convincingly indicated by the outstanding record of our 23,000 Japanese Americans who served in the armed forces in both the European and Pacific theaters, and by the fact that the records of the intelligence agencies show no case of sabotage or espionage by Americans of Japanese ancestry during the entire war.

"The evacuation orders gave the persons affected desperately little time in which to settle their affairs. The government safe-guards that were designed to prevent undue loss in these circumstances were somewhat tardily instituted, were not at once effectively publicized among the evacuees, and were never entirely successful. Merchants had to dispose of their stocks and businesses at sacrifice prices. In a setting of confusion and hysteria, many evacuees sold personal possessions for a small fraction of their value. A large number had to accept totally inadequate arrangements for protection and management of property. Valuable lease-hold interests had to be abandoned.

"Continued exclusion increased the losses. Private buildings in which evacuees stored their property were broken into and vandalized. Mysterious fires destroyed vacant buildings. Property left with 'friends' unaccountably disappeared; goods stored with the Government sometimes were damaged or lost. Persons entrusted with the management of evacuee real property mulcted the owners in diverse ways. Tenants failed to pay rent, converted property to their own use, and committed waste. Prohibited from returning to the evacuated areas even temporarily to handle property matters, the evacuees were unable to protect themselves adequately. Property management assistance given by the War Relocation Authority on the west coast, although it often mitigated and sometimes prevented loss, could not completely solve the problem there, complicated as it was by difficulties in communication with absent owners and local prejudice.

"In relocation centers the only income opportunities for evacuees lay in center employment at wage rates of \$12

to \$19 per month, plus small clothing allowances. Many felt compelled to discontinue payments of life insurance premiums. Some found themselves unable to make mortgage or tax payments and lost substantial equities.

"All of the foregoing examples of tangible loss to the evacuees are directly attributable to the evacuation and continued exclusion of those persons from their homes. Unlike our fighting men and their families, who also made financial and personal sacrifices in this war, this group was given no statutory right to ameliorating benefits. These persons have had to bear the losses occasioned by the evacuation in addition to the wartime deprivations they had shared with the rest of the American people. For the first time in our history, persons of Japanese ancestry are appearing in substantial numbers on the relief rolls. The least that this country can do, in simple justice, is to afford some degree of compensation for the measurable special losses that the evacuees have suffered.

"The only clear recourse which the evacuees now have, through the passage of private relief bills, is totally impracticable. The potential volume of evacuee claims, if added to the load under which the congressional claims committees are already laboring, might well produce a virtually unmanageable burden. The obvious result would be to postpone the settlement of most evacuee claims for an indefinitely protracted period. To provide for adjudication of the claims by the Court of Claims would be an imposition on that Court, because of the small individual amounts involved and the potential volume of claims, and unfair to the claimants, because of the expense of prosecuting a claim before the Court of Claims and the probable delay in adjudication. The most economical and practical solution--one which Congress had adopted on numerous occasions in the past for the handling of case claims arising out of a special subject matter--is the creation of a special tribunal to hear and determine the claims.

"The enclosed bill would establish an Evacuation Claims Commission as such a tribunal. In order to avoid increasing the number of independent agencies and to benefit by the experience which this Department has had with the entire evacuation and relocation problem, the bill would establish the Commission within this Department rather than as a separate Federal agency.

"The Commission would have jurisdiction to adjudicate claims by persons of Japanese ancestry for damage to or loss of real or personal property, or other impairment of assets, that arose from or as a natural and reasonable consequence of the evacuation and exclusion program. This standard is sufficiently flexible to permit the Commission to consider claims involving 'property' losses only in the broad sense, such as the impairment of going-concern values. At the time the standard excludes claims that are largely speculative and less definitely appraisable, such as claims for anticipated wages or profits that might have accrued had not the evacuation occurred, for deterioration of skills and earning capacity, and for physical hardships or mental suffering.

"In determining the amount of relief to be granted, the Commission would be required to consider other existing or intervening factors that affected the loss. Thus some losses, as in the case of businesses specializing in import or sale of Japanese goods, would have occurred even if there had been no evacuation. Likewise, damage may have been aggravated in some cases by failure of the evacuee to take steps which they reasonably should have taken, even in the abnormal circumstances, to protect themselves. On the other hand, there are numerous instances in which intervening factors immediately causing the loss, such as arson, theft, mortgage foreclosure, loss of goods while in Government possession, or breach of trust, should not affect recovery, because the situation giving rise to the loss would not have occurred had the owners been permitted to remain in possession.

"Among the types of claims excluded by the bill from consideration by the Commission are claims of persons who were voluntarily or involuntarily deported to Japan after December 7, 1941, or who are resident in a foreign country. Several hundred evacuees voluntarily repatriated to Japan during the war. Since termination of hostilities approximately 7,500 persons, most of them evacuees, have at government expense voluntarily gone to Japan, chiefly from internment camps and the Tule Lake Segregation Center. In addition, the Department of Justice has been determining who among the aliens (including persons who renounced their American citizenship) should be deported to Japan. This processing is the culmination of the loyalty screening procedure to which the evacuees have been subjected since the evacuation. I do not believe that these repatriates and

deportees have any moral claim upon this Government. Similarly, I believe that persons who before the war went to Japan or elsewhere to establish residence have no claim for compensation that we need recognize.

"The remaining provisions of the bill are largely self-explanatory and I shall merely mention the more important. All claims would have to be filed within 18 months following enactment, and the Commission would be required to complete its work within three and one-half years thereafter. The Commission would have broad investigatory authority, including the power of subpoena, and each claimant would be entitled to a hearing. Assistance in preparing claims for filing could be extended by the Commission to needy claimants. The Commission's adjudication would be conclusive and a bar to further recovery. Awards would be paid in the same manner as are final judgements of the Court of Claims, except that the Commission would be authorized to pay small awards, not exceeding \$2,500 in amount, in order to afford more expeditious relief to those whose need may be acute.

"As a matter of fairness and good conscience, and because these particular American citizens and law-abiding aliens have borne with patience and undefeated loyalty the unique burdens which this Government has thrown upon them, I strongly urge that the proposed legislation be enacted into law."

Adjustment in Agriculture and Related Business Activity

Prewar west coast agriculture. In 1940, 45 percent of the gainfully employed among the 112,353 persons of Japanese descent living in the three West Coast States were engaged in growing crops. Another 18 percent were employed in the wholesaling, retailing, and transportation of food products. Nearly two-thirds of the total working force was directly dependent on agriculture. A considerable proportion of the remainder was in a service relationship to farmers and produce handlers.

A prewar description of the Los Angeles Japanese community provided by Fumiko Fukuoka, a University of Southern California graduate student, stated:

"Little Tokyo, the business center of the Japanese communities, depends upon the farmers of Southern California. Its business reflects the economic conditions of the farmers.

In it a familiar sight is entire households of Japanese farmers walking up and down the street. They shop at the stores and eat at the Japanese restaurants, or chop suey cafes, and later go to Fuji Theater to see Japanese films. Fuji Theater has 300 seats, and all of them are filled on Saturday and Sunday.

"A good illustration of the dependence of 'Little Tokyo' upon the farmers was furnished during the farm-laborers' strike in Los Angeles county from April to June 1935. For two months while the strike lasted, the economic condition of the Japanese farmers was critical. Finally they stopped coming to the Japanese town." /1

The contribution of Japanese immigrant farmers to the development of agriculture in the three West Coast States was considerable.

They had transformed the poor clay land in Florin, California, into crop producing fields. Beginning about 1898, George Shima, the "Potato King" reclaimed the delta region of the San Joaquin River and made it one of the best potato and onion fields in the country. By 1911, the pioneering of Ikuta had transformed the alkali flats of Colusa, Glenn, Butte, Yolo, Yuba, and Sutter counties into productive rice fields, which, in 1918, added more than a million sacks of rice to the food supplies of the Allied Nations. Starting in 1913 in Walnut Grove, Japanese reclaimed the deltas of this area; and by 1919 had produced a crop of asparagus valued at \$1,800,000 from 10,000 acres. In the Imperial Valley, the Japanese cleared tracts of desert land and planted cantaloupe, then in an experimental stage; and by 1919 were farming 13,481 acres which bore a crop worth \$2,822,150, while all other farmers combined had only 7,989 acres under cultivation. In 1910 they moved into Livingston, near Merced and began to reclaim strips of wilderness; by 1920 Livingston had become the most important shipping station in Merced County.

In Oregon, similar contributions were being made. In Hood River County the Japanese engaged first in the raising of strawberries, and by 1920 were producing 75 percent of the total grown in the valley. In 1923 they developed the asparagus industry which had been commenced earlier by John Koberg; and by 1928, they were shipping 50,000 crates annually to all parts of the country. Just before evacuation Hood River County Japanese produced an annual crop of \$5,000,000, which included 90 percent of the county's asparagus, 80 percent of the strawberries, 35 percent of the pears and 30 percent of the apples. Near Salem the Japanese played an important part in the development of the Lake Labish area into the richest farmland in the world. By 1940, they were producing annually 200,000 crates of celery, 30,000 sacks of onions, 25,000

crates of lettuce and 5,000 crates of carrots. In Washington County, in 1939, the Japanese farmers cultivated about 1,400 acres, on which they grew 2,800 tons of berries which were sold for \$250,000, largely to eastern markets. Near Gaston, after repeated failures, the Japanese reclaimed 500 acres of the bottom lands of Lake Wapato which in 1939 produced 80,000 sacks of onions. Before evacuation 75 percent of the vegetables sold on the Portland market were produced by Japanese in Multnomah and Clackamas Counties. In the two counties, 4,500 acres producing an annual crop of \$2,000,000 were being operated by Japanese.

Similarly, in the State of Washington, much of the land had to be cleared of stumps and undergrowth following logging operations, or reclaimed from marshland before crops could be raised. In many instances, Japanese undertook clearing operations on a share basis, thus securing a lease on a part of the land reclaimed. Although, by the time of evacuation, 60 percent of the Japanese American population of the State of Washington lived in cities, principally Seattle, they operated 706 farms with a total acreage of 20,326. These farms in the main produced specialty crops: cherries, berries, potatoes, and fresh produce valued at an estimated \$4,000,000 annually.

As noted in the previous chapter, it was partly this success that produced the anti-Japanese agitation out of which the Alien Land Laws eventuated. While we have seen that these laws were relatively ineffective in driving the Japanese from agriculture before the war, they did serve to some extent to inhibit continued expansion, and were at least partially responsible for an increasing degree of urbanization among Japanese Americans between 1920 and Pearl Harbor.

By 1940, it was estimated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture that in the three West Coast States, the total valuation of the 6,118 Japanese operated farms, comprised of 258,074 acres, was \$72,600,000 in land and farm buildings, with \$6,000,000 worth of equipment in use. The Department's figures, available only for California show that of the 17,452 persons comprising the Japanese American labor force attached to agriculture in that State, 5,806 were farm operators or managers. 3,954 were unpaid family workers, and 7,692 were paid farm workers. No data is given to indicate the extent to which the paid workers were employed by other Japanese, but it is known that a considerable proportion worked on Caucasian ranches. Of the farms listed by the Department of Agriculture one-fourth were part or fully owned, with the remaining operations conducted on leased land. They represented 2.2 percent of the number and value of all farms in these three states, but only .4 percent of all land in farms, and 1.5 percent of all crop land harvested. The average size was about 42 acres. Most of the farms, about 84 percent, were located in California.

The small proportion of Japanese farms did not accurately measure the importance of their contribution to the market, since Japanese farming operations were specialized in certain crops. Thus annual valuation of Japanese produced truck crops in California was placed at \$35,000,000 just prior to the war, which represented between 30 and 35 percent of the total. Although the Japanese operated only 3.9 percent of all farms in the state and harvested but 2.7 percent of all cropland harvested, just prior to evacuation they were producing:

- 90 percent or more: Snap beans for marketing; celery, spring and summer; peppers; strawberries.
- 50 to 90 percent: Artichokes; snap beans for canning; cauliflower; celery, fall and winter; cucumbers; fall peas; spinach; tomatoes.
- 25 to 50 percent: Asparagus; cabbage; cantaloupes; carrots; lettuce; onions; watermelons.

Further, the Japanese farmers of Los Angeles County, who comprised about 30 percent of all Japanese farmers in the state, raised 64 percent of the truck crops for processing, and 87 percent of the vegetables for fresh marketing which appeared on the Los Angeles wholesale market.

Japanese Americans operating in the Los Angeles wholesale market had been doing an annual business of more than \$26,000,000. Of the 167 fruit and vegetable wholesalers in three Los Angeles markets, 29 were Japanese, and of the 232 permanent stall operators in the open market, 134 were Japanese. They handled an estimated 37 percent of the staple fruits and vegetables and 75 percent of the green vegetables consumed locally, and employed 2,000 Issei and Nisei. Japanese controlled markets, similar to but smaller than that in Los Angeles, existed in a number of other west coast localities.

Not only did the market provide an important outlet for produce, but these establishments provided loans in return for crop contracts, and maintained a market information service. It was the custom of Japanese farmers in almost all crops to borrow money annually to finance each year's principal crop, if not the entire production. The produce grown by Japanese found outlets primarily through this market structure, much of it going to the 1,000 or more Japanese operated fruit and vegetable stands in Los Angeles County.

The fact that competition was within a narrow range of products, and successful within that range may account for the severity of the prejudice against the Japanese in agriculture. To the Caucasian farmer whose production paralleled that of the Japanese farmer the competitive threat of the latter was important beyond his relation to all production. The primary virtues of the Japanese farmers--willingness to take infinite

pains, to work with great diligence to bring low value land to production, to live soberly and with frugality--became the faults which caused alarm; because the Issei farmer was a part of a visible minority, his ability to compete could be attacked by political as well as economic means. The setting up of markets within control of his own group provided the Issei farmer with security, but also served to increase resentment and prejudice.*

Postwar west coast agriculture. During and immediately following the evacuation, all but a very few leaseholds were given up, and land ownership decreased by about 11,000 acres. Wholesale and retail establishments passed into other hands, or were closed. Nearly three-fourths of the farm acreage, including that leased, was lost and the entire market organization was destroyed.

Late in 1946, a check of the wholesale markets in Los Angeles indicated that one fully Japanese owned commission house and only 14 produce companies had been reestablished, of which 11 were yard operators and three were merchant houses in partnership with Caucasian operators. Between 150 and 160 Japanese Americans were employed.

Among problems which made return to the wholesale market difficult were the lack of Japanese farmers who could be depended upon for produce, the lack of Japanese controlled retail outlets, and difficulty in securing leases which had been sold cheaply at the outset of the war, but which could now be repurchased only at double and treble their prewar value.

The present condition of the market was described by one of the Japanese operators whose prewar experience extended back for 20 years:

"The Issei can't lease land. Farm equipment is high, and even if they can get land, there is often no house available. The Issei who control the money want to hang onto it. There are quite a few former market big shots who smoked cigars and wore white collars now doing gardening work. They want that fast money, and after a couple of years they'll take it easy. The Nisei don't want to go back

*In a few places along the west coast, where competition was less direct, it has been noted that prejudice was less articulate. Thus, in the Santa Clara Valley where postwar reception was better than elsewhere most Caucasian farmers produced tree fruits, while the Japanese specialized in berries and vegetables which in the main were marketed through non-Japanese channels.

on the farm...It took the Japanese 40 years to build up to where they were; then there were also farmers to back up the wholesale markets...It will take time to get back in, but eventually we might get back in. The retail stores will have a tough time competing against these big markets that have learned how to display, and sell vegetables and fruit. It is no longer a monopoly of the Japanese.

"When the Caucasians began to get those big supermarkets, they owned everything in them. The vegetables were the least of their money making items. If they lost money in vegetables, they made money in their other departments. Instead of buying three crates of vegetables, and pushing sales, they buy only one. You take the price of romaine, we sell it for 50 cents a crate, but you buy it in the market for 15 cents a head."/1

Before the war 1,000 Japanese operated retail outlets constituted approximately 75 percent of such stores in Los Angeles County. Only 30 had returned to operation by the end of 1946. According to an Issei produce operator of long experience:

"It took 20 years to build up a chain of Japanese retail fruit stands. It was easy to start the retail distribution centers then because there was control of the wholesale market for about 40 years, and back of that the farmers supported the commission merchants."/1

The number of Japanese Americans who returned to the evacuated area to resume operation of farms is not more than one-fourth of those who operated farms before the war, and with minor exception are those who previously owned land. Opposition to return was greatest in rural areas. In central California, shots were fired into at least 20 homes of returned evacuees and several homes were destroyed by arson. [Very early in the return, boycotts against Japanese American produce were threatened along the entire coast. In spite of vocal and frequently violent antagonism, there was no personal injury done to any of those who returned, and nearly all who owned land were able to reclaim their property.] By the time produce was ready for the market, established Caucasian produce houses were handling Japanese farm production throughout California, and in the Northwest means of disposing of produce were found after initial difficulty. [Very few, however, were able to secure leases, in large part because established landowners found it more profitable to operate land themselves in the strong market which has existed since the war.]

Although interest both of friends and opponents has centered upon the independent farm operator, as we have seen, persons in this category made up only about one-third of the prewar Japanese American agricultural labor force, and many former farm tenants have since returned to the status of paid farm laborer.

Those who returned to farm work and were physically capable of strenuous exertion found very little difficulty in finding work that paid well, either in 1945 or 1946. Hourly wages ranged from 85 cents to \$1.00, and piecework earnings ran higher.

A considerable proportion of the prewar paid farm labor force consisted of older men who had never married, the "Issei bachelors" whose lack of stability contributed much to the problems of relocation center life. Many of these men had lived a roving life, and prewar California was dotted with "Japanese rooming houses" where these men lived during the harvest season, and sometimes engaged in sake drinking bouts over week ends and during the off season.

After the war many of these men came back to the harvest fields too old for productive labor, and today one may find a few in county farms, a few being cared for by religious workers, both Buddhist and Christian, and a larger number tucked away here and there on the farms of Japanese friends, doing what work they can, receiving enough money to buy tobacco and other small necessities, but maintained largely by generosity. Some are to be found in cities like Los Angeles, working as dishwashers, occasionally making excursions into the country during the harvest.

The success of the first year of farm operations has been varied and not a few formerly independent farm families are working together as laborers, pooling their income for a time when farms can be purchased at lower prices. Japanese landowners who leased out their farms during the war found much of their first year's profits going into repairs and purchase of farm machinery, and the rebuilding of soil depleted by wartime tenants. A few instances of high return as well as of loss have come to light. General indications are that most farmers are about breaking even.

As noted earlier, land owners are finding their most serious concern in the legal question of land ownership. Issei who have developed and controlled most of the land held by Japanese Americans, are becoming old, and in the natural course of events would now be passing control to their children. However, under the terms of the Alien Land Laws, the burden of proof of legal ownership is placed on the individual holding land, and either operation or inheritance by citizen children is placed in jeopardy unless title is confirmed by court action.

Between the opening of the west coast to evacuees on January 1, 1945 and March 1947, approximately 75 cases charging violation of the Alien Land Laws have been filed in the courts of California. During this time, 12 cases have been settled in one of three ways: three by escheat to the state, three by clearance of title, and six by settlement with the State. The case most important to the group, that of Oyama, et al, which has been certified by the United States Supreme Court for presentation during its 1947 fall term, has already been discussed./3

One of the first pieces of farmland to be escheated to the State was that of Yeizo Ikeda of Monterey County. Superior Court Judge H. G. Jorgenson ruled on August 28, 1946 that the Alien Land Law had been violated and escheated 72 acres to the State. Over a year elapsed before the second case came up. It was also decided in favor of the State. Mr. and Mrs. Fujita, who had purchased land in Fresno County in the name of their daughter in 1917, had their land confiscated on December 13, 1946.

In June 1946, however, Takumi Sunada, Nisei veteran, won the right to hold his 40 acre vineyard in Fresno County free of any confiscation proceedings when the State of California filed a disclaimer to escheat action. In September, another suit in the same county involving 320 acres against William Shiba was dismissed because of lack of evidence. In February 1947, the Asakawa brothers of San Diego County won clear title to property following a suit filed by them against the State of California to have their property adjudged free of any escheat claims.

In the meantime, settlements were being accepted to quiet titles of those cases which were adjudged to have violated the Alien Land Law. On September 16, 1946, Mrs. Fumiko Mitsuuchi, citizen, agreed to pay \$75,000 to the State of California for 71 acres of truck garden land located near Sawtelle, California, for which she had paid \$88,562.50 in 1938. In January 1947, the State accepted settlements to quiet titles in five Fresno escheat cases for the sum of \$68,415.

The largest settlement in the Fresno cases came in two suits against Takei and Natsuye Iwamura and their children amounting to \$29,625 covering title to 100 acres of farming land in the Selma-Sanger area. In another proceeding, the State compromised its suit against Tamigoro and Chisato Chiamori and their children upon payment of \$24,502.50 and quieted their title to 62 acres in the Reedley-Parlier area. The title to more than 40 acres was given to Yosushi Chiamori while Akira Chiamori, another son and his wife Toyoko, were given title to 26 acres. In the settlement of the fourth suit brought by the State for alleged Alien Land Law violations, Hanaka Ishii Teraoka received the rights to a 40-acre farm in the Reedley district from Keijiro and Mary Nakashima for a

consideration of \$10,400. The fifth suit involved a payment of \$3,887.50 to quiet title to land in the Reedley area in the name of Fumiko Helen Akahori, daughter of Mitsuo and Umeji Akahori, defendants.

Although the number of farms so far involved in escheat proceedings is relatively small--about five percent of the total number of farms owned--the sense of insecurity caused by the threat of escheat action is greatly disturbing to all Japanese American farm operators, and resources have been pooled for legal action in the Oyama case and to support the Anti-discrimination Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League. The latter organization has been active both in seeking repeal of the Alien Land Laws in the various states which have a statute of this kind, and in developing support for legislation in the United States Congress to make aliens of Japanese origin eligible for American citizenship.

Return to specific west coast localities.* The movement of the evacuee population at the close of the centers was greatest to areas which offered least resistance. The Santa Clara Valley was one of them, and to this area came, in addition to the old residents, families from the Imperial Valley, the central coastal valleys, and other less receptive places. The number of Japanese Americans increased from a prewar population of 3,773 to an estimated 6,250 by midsummer of 1946. Only in a few other areas such as Sacramento and Fresno Counties had the Japanese American population come close to reaching its pre-evacuation figure.

In the Santa Clara Valley, and elsewhere, few whose prewar farm operations depended on leased land were able to resume farming. Owners, however, had no great difficulty in getting back their land. A very few managed to get land they leased before the war. One such Nisei stated of the land owner:

"He was really glad to see me. He had been having an awful time trying to run the place himself with the kind of labor he could get during the war. First thing he wanted to know

*Field investigation of adjustment in the agricultural areas of the west coast planned for the late winter of 1947 had to be abandoned because of unforeseen limitations on budget. Coverage of farming areas in other sections of the country has been more thorough than for the more important areas of the west coast. Because of lack of specific information, the description that follows, while accurate, will be of a general nature and relatively brief.

if I could come back and take over the place so that he wouldn't have to think of it anymore." /1

Some, as another 32 year old Nisei, felt that it would be at least two more years before they could get back to independent farming. He said:

"We can't take a chance right now, even if we could get a piece of land. Everything costs so much. It would be all right if the price of berries would stay the way it is now. But if the price should slip a little, with production costs the way they are, we could lose \$3,000 to \$4,000 easily. Then our capital would be gone." /1

As previously stated, in many cases whole families were working as laborers, pooling their income for the time when farms can be purchased at lower prices. In one such case, a family of five was netting close to a thousand dollars a month during the five months or so of the harvesting season when piece work brought in high returns.

In other counties and valleys, the adjustment varied only in degree from that in the Santa Clara Valley which was more favorable than in any other section of the west.

The Imperial Valley and the Central Coast Valleys including Salinas and Santa Maria were hostile to the return of the Japanese and few went back. Thus a farmer who returned on short term leave to Lompoc, in the Santa Maria Valley, found his small farm completely stripped of everything both inside and out. The final report for the district compiled by the War Relocation Authority revealed that:

"Furniture and fixtures were removed from the home, farm tools, implements, and equipment had been stolen; perhaps as much as three thousand dollars worth. Even the water pump had been demolished and the irrigation pipe pried out of the ground to rust. This impoverished Issei now found himself with just a bare frame shelter and the grossly neglected field, but no implements, no water, no cash." /4

In the Imperial Valley where tenancy was high, community sentiment essentially anti-Japanese, and the weather extreme, about 25 farm operators had returned of the pre-evacuation total of 212. The 25 included all but one of the prewar land owners, but only a few tenant farmers.

Farther north in the smaller Coachella Valley, located in Riverside County, a greater percentage of the prewar number had returned, nearly 400 individuals as compared with a prewar 552. In this Valley, community

sentiment was favorable, and in many ways the people helped the relocated farmers get started. Paper for plant protection and other equipment were sold to the Japanese before being put on the open market. The first year's crops gave heavy returns to a few, but for most, it was a matter of breaking even.

Information is largely lacking concerning the return of farm people to the interior valleys of California, the Sacramento and the San Joaquin. It is known that in 1940, 205 of the 416 Japanese farm operators of Sacramento County were owners, and that only 37 had disposed of their property prior to 1945. Since there was considerable farm property to which to return, and there have been no reports of widespread difficulty from this section of California, it may be assumed that adjustment there has conformed to the general pattern. That this pattern has not been a simple matter of taking up where they left off at the time of evacuation is indicated by a WRA report concerning Florin:

"At the time of evacuation the Farm Security Administration attempted to secure substitute operators for the ranches and met with little success. It was almost impossible to secure operators to farm these ranches in the way that the Japanese had done. Consequently, the strawberry acreage dropped from approximately 1,600 acres to probably less than 200 acres." /5

Anti-Japanese sentiment in the San Joaquin Valley was bitter, but here too there was a comparatively large number of farm owners and they were able to resume operations. The orchards and vineyards of the valley require large numbers of workers during the harvest season and after some initial hesitation, Japanese Americans were freely hired. As a result, the numbers of Japanese Americans residing in this valley is close to the prewar figure. Although during the spring and early summer of 1945 all but a few of the serious incidents against the returned evacuees took place within a fifty mile radius of Fresno, by the late summer and fall of that year buyers for local, Los Angeles, and San Francisco produce houses were actively soliciting business from returned evacuees.

In Los Angeles and surrounding counties, little farming activity has been resumed. Much of the land formerly farmed is now either subdivided for residential purposes or is the site of newly developed industry. Corporations doing large scale farming are reluctant to lease land to the Japanese farmers. In 1940 Los Angeles County contained nearly one-fourth of all Japanese operated farms in the West Coast States. However, of the 1477 Los Angeles County farms, only 113 were owned and 1,364 were leased. Moreover, the relationship between the production of these farms and the Japanese wholesale produce operations in the city

of Los Angeles was close, and the lack of support formerly given by the wholesale structure has provided an additional handicap.

In Orange County where 95 percent of the prewar Japanese American population of 1,800 were rural people, about 70 percent have returned. In contrast to some 12,000 acres farmed before the war, however, only about 10 percent of that total is now under cultivation by the Japanese American farmers. Of 245 prewar farm operators, 48 were owners of approximately 500 acres. The acreage of owned property is about the same now, but leased land has fallen from 11,500 to about 700 acres.

Before the war the Japanese operated farms were scattered throughout the county and there was no concentration of Japanese in any particular area. In 1946, however, 10 to 15 families were concentrated in each of three hostels and an abandoned dehydrating plant. These people were commuting to neighboring farms as laborers.

While farm operators have indicated that more money is passing through their hands than did before the war, their net return is much lower. High operating costs as well as the changed market conditions in Los Angeles are said to be the reasons. Taxes are high, and farm laborers are receiving 75 cents to \$1.00 an hour in contrast to their prewar scale of 40 cents an hour.

The great majority of the families in Orange County are closely knit, with family members working on individual or joint pieces of land. The number of graduates from agricultural colleges in this area is high, and techniques of farm management and operation on Japanese farms are advanced.

The first year after their return found a number leasing land; in 1946 fewer leases were available. This has been attributed to the high prices on lima beans the past year. The Caucasian farmers who have come up during the war feel that they can still make more money growing beans than they can by leasing land.

Although the acreage and number of farm operators is still limited, the Japanese residents feel that Orange County will again be an area of high garden crop productivity. Since there are only a few large Caucasian farm interests in comparison to other agricultural areas such as Santa Maria and Imperial Valley, the Japanese feel that they will not be frozen out. For this and other reasons, they believe that many Japanese farmers from those areas will drift into Orange County.

In the White River Valley of Washington, another center of agitation against return, only a few as yet are back. Many of those who formerly farmed in this area have remained in Eastern Oregon and Western

Idaho where they had located farms during the exclusion period. A Nisei resident of the White River Valley stated returning farmers who had no farms had great trouble in securing land, and as a result very few of the leading prewar farmers are even now to be found among those who have returned. Although the problem of securing leases has been somewhat alleviated, the difficulty is now that most of the farms up for lease are too large to handle. Another handicap was the serious shortage of farm equipment, much of which had been sold during the war.

Although the attitude toward Japanese Americans is unsettled in this section, a number of land owners have expressed preference for Japanese tenants, in large part because of wartime experience with tenants during the absence of the Japanese. Thus an advertisement of March 11, 1947 carried a direct appeal for Nisei tenure by virtue of the fact that it was published in The Northwest Times, a Japanese American English Language newspaper of Seattle:

"For sale or rent: Hundred-fifty acres planting of year-old strawberries. For rent or sale. All or any part. Sprinkler irrigation furnished. Weed free. Thousand acres tillable land for expansion available. Reasonable terms. Olympia, Washington."

Marketing in this area has not been a problem, because the farmers signed contracts with canneries and packing houses, and none have shipped produce to the city.

In Hood River, Oregon, a hotbed of anti-Japanese sentiment, the Japanese Americans, most of whom owned their farms, were making good adjustments. However, forty years of anti-Japanese sentiment cannot be wiped out in a few months' time. Part of what has happened is well expressed in the words of one farmer who said:

"I don't like those lousy Japs, but I'm not doing anything about it because I'm mixed up in a lot of farm deals with them."

Yet in spite of the undertone of racial antagonism and economic rivalry, returning servicemen and a considerable number of friendly residents quieted the opposition and made Hood River Valley a receptive place for returning evacuees.

A letter written late in 1946 to the Pacific Citizen by a Caucasian resident of the Valley stated:

"A few of the Caucasian growers hire a crew of pruners and get the job out of the way as soon as possible, but

most of the Japanese growers take care of this job alone... They have handled entirely alone their first crop since evacuation in an orderly efficient manner and have experienced no unpleasant treatment, nor have they been pushed back for the benefit of the Caucasian growers... We found more Caucasian workers than any others in the Japanese-owned orchards, and sometimes a Japanese worker helping a Caucasian neighbor... One fruit company had a young Nisei in their office as typist and receptionist. It is doubtful that a position of this kind could have been found here by a young lady before the war."/6

Some considerations relating to the future of Japanese Americans in west coast agriculture. Whatever the future of the Japanese in west coast agriculture may be, it will be the future of the Nisei farmer. A few Issei see themselves as beginning over again, but their contribution in subjugating and reclaiming thousands of acres of waste land throughout the Pacific Coast States cannot be repeated because of their advanced age, and because they lack knowledge of modern technological methods which now replace the plodding hand work of earlier days. The evacuation brought their turbulent day in west coast agriculture to a virtual close.

The future of the Nisei can be seen only faintly at this time. In dim outline, probable developments appear familiar to the student of American agriculture.

The history of farming in the United States is full of examples of immigrant farmers who have driven themselves and their families hard, who developed new land into valuable property in the expectation of passing along to a succeeding generation their own love of the soil and a willingness to work, and who saw their sons go off to become doctors, lawyers, and mechanics in an American city where hours were less exacting and returns less dependent on the vagaries of weather and the market.

As noted earlier, there were signs that something of the same process was taking place among Japanese Americans before Pearl Harbor. A study of the Japanese at the Rohwer Relocation Center, who had come principally from the farm districts of Los Angeles County and the San Joaquin Valley, indicated that while 81 percent of the Rohwer Issei had come from farming districts of Japan, at the time of evacuation only 53 percent lived in rural areas of the United States, 41 percent lived in cities of more than 2,500 population, and five percent lived in villages of less than 2,500./7

The person making this study noted a similar trend among the Nisei:

"As for the estimated 4,000 unpaid family laborers in agriculture, objective Japanese insist that many young people were trying to leave the farm, and the census figures indicate a continuing drift into the cities... However...a certain number of young people, denied a range of opportunity in the professions and in Caucasian urban business firms, and under constant pressure from their parents to take over the farm, get married and settle down. The Nisei preferred to be second rate engineers to being first rate farmers, but since they could not be the former, they would be the latter. These, and others who had purchased land with the help of their parents were determined to make a career of farming, and felt that their future lay in the soil." /8

Field observations, while not conclusive, indicate that the farm operations of these Nisei even if not disturbed by escheat proceedings, will differ materially from those of their parents. As with other American young people who have decided to stay with the soil, Nisei are spending more for housing, are using improved scientific techniques, are having smaller families, and depend much less on family labor. These Nisei will continue to be serious competitors, but their competition will not be based, even remotely, on a depressed standard of living.

If the Alien Land Laws of the West Coast States do not drive the Nisei from the land, it is reasonably safe to predict that their farms will again produce a sizable proportion of the fruit and vegetable crop of the West Coast States, but that the Nisei will not achieve the pre-war status of their parents in the agriculture of those States.

Evacuees in agriculture away from the west coast. Colorado. A number of the farmers relocated to other Western States before the re-opening of the west coast, and a very few settled in the Midwest and East.

The first agricultural workers to leave the centers were those who went on seasonal leave into the intermountain sugar beet fields in the fall of 1942. Some stayed on to farm, and more joined them after the season of 1943 when nearly 14,000 left centers on temporary leave for farm work. As time went on, others relocated to farms without first going out as seasonal workers.

Colorado was one of the areas selected early by evacuees as a place to go. This State, in 1940, had a Japanese population of 2,734, of which all but about 400 lived in rural areas. Aside from being a state already having a Japanese population, Colorado was strategically located

for those who later might wish to go further East, and still near enough to the west coast for those who wished to return to their former homes when permitted.

The peak population for people of Japanese ancestry was about 11,700 in 1945. During the course of the following year, approximately 5,500 had returned to their former homes on the west coast. With approximately 3,000 left in Denver, an estimated 3,200 still remained in the rural regions of the state, half of whom were evacuees.

After Pearl Harbor, but before the evacuation was ordered, 15 families relocated to Greeley. These were the vanguard of several hundreds of voluntary evacuees who settled on Colorado farms. After the evacuation, additional hundreds of farmers located in Colorado. Although the weather was new to them, some of the crops and methods of farming were not totally unfamiliar. The war years found many doing well. Losses due to hail and other climatic conditions bothered the evacuees in 1945, but it was not until the following year that a number of farmers lost their entire crop from this cause. In this, many evacuee farmers suffered more than the native farmers; they had plunged, and in the good weather of 1943 and 1944, they profited in crops with which they were familiar in California. Their losses in 1945 and 1946, together with increasing labor shortages, decided many to return to the west coast.

A large farm operator, formerly of Santa Maria, California, stated:

"Farming in Colorado is bad. During the war, it was all right, for there were German prisoners of war who could be used as farm laborers. Now this year, there are no prisoners of war available for farm work...and the weather is so unpredictable...you take this year; it has been bad. You just can't compete with the local farmers, as they have been farming for a long time, and they have become familiar with Colorado's weather."/1

This family expects to leave shortly for California.

The head of another farm family, which formerly had lived in Stockton, California, stated:

"Colorado is no place for small farm operators...if you are going to farm here, you have to farm big... but farming is not bad, except for the weather. On days like this (it had snowed over three feet a week ago and there was a severe wind and rain storm blowing outside) we evacuees want to go back to California all the more."/1

The Japanese Americans who have been farming in Colorado over the past twenty and thirty years see the matter in a somewhat different light, as the statement of an Issei of Greeley indicates:

"There is a great difference between the Colorado and the California farmer. There is a big difference in their character, spirit, and motives. The California farmer is extremely money conscious. If he doesn't make a big killing in one year he is disappointed. He is terribly upset if his crops are destroyed one year by hail or bad weather. He figures he must be making money every year...

"Now you take the Colorado farmer, he is different. He farms from year to year, but he doesn't expect to make a huge fortune in one year. If he loses his crops this year from hail or frost...all right he is not going to get disappointed and quit farming entirely, but will hope that next year conditions will be better. He is contented to be able to make a living for his family. You might say he is easy going.

"Yes, it is true that in California one can farm the year around while here, one can farm only during the summer season. But I've heard that most of the Japanese farmers were just able to provide their livelihood while they worked right through the year. Here the farmers are just able to provide their livelihood throughout the year, but they don't have to work during the winter months. In other words, we Coloradoans are able to enjoy about three months of vacation in the winter, and still maintain a livelihood, while the Californians who farm the year around are just able to maintain a livelihood without any vacation. I don't see why the Californians think they're better off just because they can farm the year around.

"You know, what really got me was what the evacuee farmers told us Colorado farmers. They said we were crazy to continue farming in Colorado, that California was so much a better place, that they wouldn't consider farming continuously in Colorado. I resent very much their saying we're crazy here in Colorado." /1

An Issei connected with a Denver wholesale produce company was less partisan:

"I guess it's human nature for one to prefer living in a place where one lived most of his life. One gets used to the surroundings and environment. The Californians are used to California and are strangers to Colorado, and it's natural for them to want to go back. The Colorado farmers, on the other hand, would prefer to continue farming here, as this is the only place they know. They like it here, and prefer to remain. They have no other place to go. The Californians have a place to go." /1

However, it is by no means true that all evacuee farmers intend to leave the state. An Issei farming near Greeley gave as his reasons for staying:

"I guess I'll be farming in Colorado for the next few years. It's not bad here in Colorado. I went to California some time ago to survey farm prospects there. Housing is so bad there I don't want to go back right now. Because of housing we just can't go back there even if we want to. The winter here in Colorado is too cold. That's one of the things I don't like about it." /1

Fred M., a 25 year old Nisei farmer, also located near Greeley, hopes to stay for reasons which have weight with a good many of those remaining. As reported by the field interviewer:

"Fred is somewhat opposed to returning to California. He believes that returning would only mean being thrown into the old Japanese community and facing worse discrimination than elsewhere. He believes in dispersal of the Nisei throughout the country, even at the expense of some hardship on the family. However he is very uncertain about his own future, whether he wants to continue farming or go into some other kind of work. He is toying with the idea of going to college and taking advantage of the GI Bill of Rights. He is interested in business, but at present he is very uncertain as to the advisability of his going to college and leaving his parents alone. He is also uncertain as to what job opportunities there will be for Nisei in the future. If he decided to enroll at some college, he prefers to stay out here in Colorado and not return to California. However, because of his own personal indecision concerning his education, he is all the more uncertain as to returning to California.

"When I asked his father what his desires were concerning returning to California, he shyly pointed to Fred

and stated in Japanese, 'It all depends on my son, whether he wants to go back or not.'

"He refused to express his own desire. However, through previous meetings with Fred, it was learned that his parents were inclined toward return to California.

"There is a great deal of evidence pointing to the fact that of those evacuees remaining in Colorado, the decision to return or not rests largely with the Nisei children and not with the Issei parents." /1

The varied experience of a California business man who has farmed near Granada, Colorado since 1943 provides some indication of the possibilities open to Issei in Colorado, even though he neither had previous farming experience nor can the individual himself be called typical.

Mr. and Mrs. T. lived in San Francisco for many years prior to the war. By profession, he was an inventor, holding patents for such diverse inventions as a paper milk bottle, caps for pop bottles, a double valve engine cylinder and a sod remover from tractor or plows. Early in the 1920's he manufactured and marketed an oriental bamboo fruit basket, and later manufactured bamboo rakes, claiming an income of \$50,000 a year at this time, and spending most of it on his inventions and in litigation in connection with his patents.

He and his wife were placed in the Granada Relocation Center in 1942, from which he was one of the first to leave. In 1943 he leased 300 acres of land nearby, in 1944 about 500 acres, in 1945 this was increased to 700 and in 1946 to 1,000 acres. He has been raising sugar beets, onions, and melons principally. His labor force is large, and drawn from many elements in the community.

When asked how he has fared in farming in Colorado, Mr. T. stated:

"It has been pretty good during the war and it has been pretty good this year. Farming in Colorado is good. The soil here is very good, better than California.

"I've never farmed in my life before 1943 when I began here. Some friends and I talked about what we ought to do, about leaving camp and about what we ought to go into. We decided to go into farming in this region as it was not profitable to just waste time away in camp." /1

Judging from his previous record, which includes the dropping of more than one successful enterprise, this aggressive and ingenious inventor-business man turned farmer will find yet another outlet for his

talents and drive, probably (from hints dropped during the interview) in the import-export trade when business relations with Japan are resumed.

The question of the mobility of the evacuees has already been discussed. It should be noted here however, that while the wartime farming conditions in Colorado were generally favorable, and several hundreds of evacuee farm families did well during that period, the larger proportion returned to their original homes when the opportunity came. Those remaining still numbered between 1,000 and 1,500.

Utah. This state which had 2,210 persons of Japanese descent in 1940, likewise attracted several hundred evacuee farmers. Here too, there was the pull of irrigated farming and a somewhat familiar farm technique, plus already settled Japanese people. During the peak years from 1943 to 1945, the number of Japanese Americans in urban and rural Utah reached nearly 10,000. When the west coast was reopened, they were among those closest to their old homes, and movement back to the coast developed quickly. Present estimates are that not more than 4,500 persons of Japanese descent remain in the state. A large proportion of those leaving have been farmers who either had farms on the coast to return to, or were dissatisfied with climate and methods of farming.

In the Corrine and Garland districts, for example, of 14 evacuee families totaling 76 persons, only three families with a total of 14 people remain. In the Brigham City area, where 270 persons of Japanese descent lived before the war, only about 50 evacuees remained, of nearly 700 who at one time were residents, and of these more than half are expected to leave. In this area most of the early relocatees were predominantly male Nisei and younger Issei. They came out from the relocation centers to work in the cannery as laborers. After they had been able to make contacts and find places to live many sent for their families, and either rented land, or farmed on a share-crop basis.

Because a number of the newcomers were better able financially to buy new machinery and to manipulate other factors necessary in farming operations than the old Japanese American residents, relations between the new and old Japanese population became strained. Another factor making for ill feeling between the two groups was an unwillingness on the part of the newcomers to "take the advice of the old residents as to what to raise, how to farm, and what to do in order to get along in the Caucasian community." As one older Nisei, a native of the Honeyville area, put it:

"After all, we had become well established in our community, we were accepted, people knew us and respected us. The Californians moved in and they soon outnumbered us two to one. They did not know how to act. They thought they were better than we were. We didn't like

it. After they were here for a short time they began to understand, and along toward the end of their stay, they began to be better able to make the right kind of adjustments." /1

Economically, most were able to compete favorably with the other members of the community, and many of them made "good money" during the war years. They aided materially in building up some of the fruit and vegetable industries in the area.

In another section of Utah, in the vicinity of Layton, Kaysville, and Syracuse, the proportion that remained is considerably greater. The present population of Japanese Americans is about 1,400, as compared with 950 before the war and 2,300 at the peak. Farming conditions in this section are similar to that of the west coast, acceptance is good both in the Caucasian and old resident Japanese communities, and the evacuees remaining have become well established. It is felt that most of the evacuees who intend to leave have already gone.

With the exception of one family which runs a small store in Layton, all families in this area are engaged in agriculture. Most of the farmers are sharecroppers or renters operating an average of about 30 to 50 acres of irrigated land. A great majority have modern farm equipment and all have modern transportation facilities.

A report from this area concludes:

"The persons of Japanese ancestry during the war period definitely contributed to the economic well being of the communities where they settled. Without the Japanese farm labor the area would have been hard put for manpower to carry out the agricultural demands placed upon it. The Caucasians recognized this, and still do for that matter. This may be one of the basic reasons why social and economic discrimination in this area has been one of the lowest of any region in the state. The old Japanese population has always had positive relations in the communities in this area. During the early years of the war there was an attempt to close the Japanese store near Layton, but the Federal courts upheld the right of the Issei to continue his business. At present both Japanese and Caucasians do business with this Issei." /1

Eastern Oregon - Idaho. In addition to Colorado and Utah, a third important area of farm resettlement was to be found in Eastern Oregon and Western Idaho, principally along the Snake River, which provides the boundary between these states along part of its length, and in the Boise Valley of Idaho.

In Idaho, before Pearl Harbor, there had been a group of about 150 Japanese farm families which had remained stable over the past decade. Of 1,191 persons of Japanese descent, only 189 were listed in the census of 1940 as living in Idaho cities.

The Japanese were primarily specialty farmers, the main crops being onions, potatoes, sugar beets, peas, lettuce, and carrots. All farming is by irrigation. One or two specialized in growing seeds, but most produced directly for the market. In Malheur County, Oregon, the important crops are onions, potatoes, and sugar beets. Before the war, the number of Japanese in this county numbered 137, almost all rural.

The group consisted of 25 farm families and several dozen Issei bachelors. While the group was small, some Japanese community life had developed in the Weiser-Payette area, and a Japanese community hall was owned on the outskirts of Ontario.

The evacuation from the west coast and the eventual relocation program of the War Relocation Authority changed the scene. In the three years between 1943 and 1946, thousands streamed into the region. At the peak, it is estimated that as many as 5,000 individuals were there.

The greatest number were seasonal workers who came as harvest hands during the sugar beet and potato harvest. In the fall of 1943 the Idaho sugar beet and potato harvest was in danger of being lost through lack of labor and it is generally recognized that the efforts of the evacuees saved the harvest for that year. The majority stayed in the area only through the harvest season, and then returned to their relocation center.

After another season, some of the harvest hands stayed on as year around laborers; others worked in the vegetable packing sheds. As the war progressed and the closing of the centers became more and more imminent, farmers began to resettle in the area on a share-crop or lease arrangement. A few bought land.

By early 1946, it was estimated that at least 2,000 if not more resettlers had moved to the Idaho section of this area. For many of these, the area was first thought of as a convenient resting place before final return to the west coast. Today the overall Japanese American population in the Idaho part of the Snake River Valley and in the Boise Valley is somewhere around 1,500, a sharp contrast with the number living here before the evacuation.

It is the young married Nisei with families and unmarried older Nisei, both men and women, who have gone back to the west coast. A considerable percentage of the Issei parents with young Nisei children are electing to stay in the region at least for the present. Two factors seem to be involved. Housing for large family units is very scarce on

the west coast. Secondly, Issei have heard or have seen for themselves that Northwest Coast jobs for Issei, men or women, are of a domestic and service type where income is not too great. In short, for this Issei group, their present status is better than they can anticipate back in their old home area.

The Caldwell Labor Camp, originally established by the U. S. Department of Agriculture to house migrant farm labor, located two miles east of the town of that name, still housed 260 Japanese Americans in the fall of 1946, out of a total population of 550 of all races. The majority of the Japanese are in family groups, and live in family cottages, a contrast from the war years when most of the Japanese were single men. Expenses are very low; rent for a shelter room is 35 cents a week, and for a cottage, \$2.25 a week, with an extra charge of 25 cents if an electric refrigerator is furnished.

Summer and fall are the big harvest seasons, and good workers were averaging \$12 to \$15 a day. On piece work, exceptional workers were earning as high as \$25 in a 10 or 11 hour day, packing lettuce, sacking potatoes, and the like. One family of eight members had seven workers in the field in September of 1946, and claimed to have averaged \$500 to \$1,000 a week since June. Such unusually high returns resulted from dawn to dusk work for the harvest season at a pace that could be maintained only for short periods by exceptional workers. The operator of the Caldwell Camp store, a Japanese, estimated that the income of the average Japanese family group at the labor camp from January through September was between \$3,000 and \$3,500.

The Japanese workers are highly regarded in the vicinity, and there is a year-around demand for them. In spring and early summer they are wanted for planting and weeding work. During the winter months the demand is for odd farm jobs, for semi-skilled labor in the seed factories and for turkey picking, with wages ranging from 80 to 85 cents per hour. Most of the Japanese work in crews of from 8 to 10, with their own crew boss.

Few of those at the Caldwell camp are discussing a return to their old homes. Most of them do not have anything to go back to, for the few who may have possessed property long ago disposed of it. The families living in the cottages appear fairly comfortable, and most of this group is as well or better off than they had even been on the coast. The family as a unit is making more money, and most of them are setting aside a small stake. Although the work is gruelling, especially during the harvest season, high earnings so far have had greater weight.

A number of the present Japanese residents of the Caldwell camp were among those who chose segregation at the Tule Lake Camp. This segment of the group has not been too favorably received. Several of

them are living in shelters with small children under very unsatisfactory conditions. One such family, having been promised a cottage, found his application cancelled. It was apparent that the Japanese whose loyalty to the United States in wartime had not deviated, were being given first consideration in securing housing, a condition agreed to by the Japanese members of the self-government council.

A few who had returned to the Northwest have come back to Idaho. Of one crew of eight members, five had been in Seattle since the war. They report that the only jobs open are dishwashing or other unskilled service jobs where the pay is low. The only good jobs, from a wage standpoint, were in foundries, too heavy for most of the Issei and Nisei. One Nisei girl who had divorced a pro-Japan Kibei husband at Tule Lake, returned by herself to Seattle where she could only find work as a domestic. She worked for a few months, and then returned to Idaho where during the harvest period she had been making above average earnings of as much as \$24 a day in the fields.

On the Oregon side of the Snake River at least 700 evacuees remain, the great majority are farmers or farm laborers. Very early in the war, the Ontario Chamber of Commerce went on record as opposing any anti-Japanese propaganda, and this city has benefited by much Japanese trade. Before the war there were about eight Japanese operated farms in the vicinity of Ontario; the figure today stands at about 50. Most of these started on a share-crop or lease arrangement, and about half still continue on this basis; about half have bought land. The average size of the farms is about 50 acres, although a few run to 100 and 125 acres.

The returns secured by these farmers have not been uniform. Some have scraped through the past two years, and many anticipated a loss for 1946. A few cashed in heavily during the war years, an outstanding success being that of a partnership which netted over \$50,000 on their first wartime crop of onions. In 1946, the market for onions was slack, and many farmers who went heavily into this crop will lose or do no better than break even.

In addition to the Japanese farmers who have been farming independently, there have been hundreds of evacuees working as farm laborers. Issei bachelors have worked as farm hands for other Japanese and for Caucasian farmers. Couples and family groups have worked for other farmers on a monthly wage basis. This type of arrangement has been very popular for it included housing and part subsistence for family groups. A large family group could thus afford to work for a smaller wage. Several hundred family groups have worked in this area on this arrangement.

Just why the war-induced Japanese farm communities of the Oregon-Idaho area should have attained greater postwar stability than those of

Utah and Colorado is something of a mystery. Possibly the climate of the Snake River Valley presented less contrast to those from the Northwest than did that of Colorado and Utah to those from California. Possibly earnings may have remained higher. Whatever the reason, the proportion of evacuees who have stayed on is much greater than in the other states.

Eastern Washington. In the Spokane district, which lies outside of the evacuated area of Washington, it has been estimated that farm holdings have increased about 60 percent since 1941. There are now 55 or 60 farm families, whereas before the war the number was in the 20's. About 40 percent of the farms are owned, the rest are leased. These farms average five acres in size and are all vegetable gardens. The local vegetable produce market is controlled about 90 percent or more by the Japanese farmers. The Japanese vegetable associations supply vegetables to all the big hotels and big grocery and fruit and vegetable stores, as well as to small local merchants. The large Caucasian operators specialize in cabbage or other vegetables which are shipped to the Northwest Coast or to the Middle West. The Japanese farmers do not grow cabbage for they cannot compete even in the local market with these large growers.

Southern and Eastern States. Those who have relocated to the south, few as they were, found the climatic conditions more to their liking. Although Japanese were prohibited from buying and owning land in the State of Arkansas, a total of 147 had settled there when the centers were closed at the end of 1945. Most of this number were in the eastern part of the State on the Wilson plantation, which had hoped to attract several hundred farm families through its rental and share-cropping plans. In Texas about 300 evacuees remain of over 500 who had relocated early in the program.

Although few independent farmers settled in the Midwest or East, the Seabrook Farms in New Jersey is perhaps the largest single employer of Japanese Americans in the United States. There are approximately 400 families and bachelors totaling some 2,300 individuals now living there. Most of these people are from California. About 800 are employed the year around in the fields while another 700 work in the processing plants where vegetables are frozen or canned. Japanese Americans are also employed in the general store where they staff the barber shops, beauty salons, watch and repair shops, and the shoe repair shop.

During the slack season the social and educational groups take up much of the employees' time. About 400 children are attending the schools in the nearby town of Bridgeton, with some making outstanding achievements. For example, the second highest student and commencement speaker at the Bridgeton High School last June was a Nisei girl from

Seabrook Farms. A few of the Seabrook resettlers went back to the west coast, but the majority remained.

A handful did find places in rural Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan. One Nisei who went to a fruit and fresh vegetable section of eastern Michigan had after three years acquired an equity in some \$17,000 worth of machinery and equipment, compared with the \$400 he had in pocket on arrival. During his second year, this man produced lettuce grossing \$200 an acre from swamp land rented for 40 cents an acre. His credit relations with the local bank were of the best, and his acceptance in the community sound. Through his influence about 50 persons have located in this community.

This completes the information available concerning the postwar farm experience of the evacuated Japanese Americans. The following sections deal with their economic adjustment in urban situations.

Urban Economic Adjustment

California. As noted earlier, approximately 60 percent of the nearly 94,000 Japanese Americans evacuated from California had returned to that state by the end of 1946. The prewar center of this population was Los Angeles County, where it is now estimated 25,000 to 28,000 are living as compared to about 37,000 before the war. Because of this concentration, which centers in the city of Los Angeles, the description of urban economic adjustment in California will deal most fully with the situation there.*

*Field work in California was limited to Los Angeles and rural Santa Clara Valley; in consequence most of the material available concerning non-farm economic experience elsewhere has been gathered from secondary sources. Aside from such larger cities as San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, and Fresno, there is general evidence that the livelihood of returned Japanese Americans is gained principally from farm operations or farm labor. However, in many small communities, as for example, Parlier near Fresno, Japanese Americans have set up small service establishments, particularly groceries. There has been no specific information of hardship among these tradesmen, and it may be assumed that they are either moderately successful or at least breaking even. As already noted, plans to secure more detailed information concerning the range of enterprise in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys had to be abandoned because of curtailment of field activities.

In discussing agricultural adjustment, note was taken of the intimate relationship between the prewar Southern California farm economy and the business economy of Los Angeles. As we have seen, the Japanese farming community has recovered but a small proportion of its prewar strength. It is a fact of major importance to Japanese American businessmen in Los Angeles that the large scale marketing of truck and fresh vegetable crops produced by Japanese farmers has not been resumed, nor no longer can they expect the weekly influx of farm customers so much a part of Little Tokyo's prewar trade.

As a direct result, the economic pattern of the Japanese community in Los Angeles has undergone a marked change--from one where livelihood depended largely on independent enterprise and paid or family employment in Japanese controlled business to widespread dependence on the larger community for employment and livelihood.

By far the greatest concentration of prewar Japanese American workers was in the 1,000 fruit and vegetable markets controlled by Japanese, but scattered throughout Los Angeles County where patronage was largely from the general community. Approximately 5,000 Nisei and Issei owners and employees were estimated to be working in these stores. Other Japanese operated independent grocery and dairy product stores employed an additional 3,000, including owners. Another 2,000 were to be found in the two wholesale markets through which the fresh produce of the Japanese farmers was distributed. About 2,000 were in the contract gardening trade, servicing the estates in Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and Pasadena.

These enterprises catered primarily to the larger community, but economic control, including that over employment remained within the Japanese American group. In addition to these widespread enterprises, there were numerous small businesses which were almost wholly dependent upon the Japanese community for patronage. The latter type of enterprise was of questionable economic soundness before the war. A progressive Issei businessman, who before evacuation had established a successful variety store entirely away from the confines of Little Tokyo, analyzed the prewar situation thus:

"With the decline of the Issei population the business in Little Tokyo was heading down grade. The number of Nisei increased, but they spoke English as fluently as any other American and their mode of living was completely Americanized with the possible exception that they liked to eat rice often and occasionally ate with chop sticks. They didn't bother to go out of their way to shop at Little Tokyo as their less Americanized parents had been accustomed." /1

Unlike the major prewar enterprises--the wholesale produce market, the retail fruit stores, most of the grocery and dairy stores, and the contract gardeners which served the larger community--the business enterprises of Little Tokyo had been based on what Mark Twain called "taking in each others washing". Social solidarity in the Japanese community had not been sufficiently strong to withstand the lure of lower prices and a greater selection of goods in chain and department stores outside the Japanese community. In prewar Los Angeles--and elsewhere, as well--the security of self employment in service to the Japanese community had become illusory. To a degree, therefore, the destruction of this type of enterprise by the evacuation merely accelerated a process already underway.

Among women a number were employed as domestics, but most spent their time and energies taking care of their children and helping out in small family businesses. Girls found little opportunity as secretaries in downtown offices, or in the garment shops in spite of the increasing number of graduates from dressmaking schools in Little Tokyo.

Although it would be inaccurate to say no Nisei or Issei men had found employment in white collar and professional lines outside the Japanese community, such employment was rare.

Since the opening of the west coast on January 1, 1945, approximately 500 business and professional men have become established in Los Angeles. Most of these are located in Little Tokyo on First and San Pedro Street with a few in other areas of Japanese concentration, including Boyle Heights, West Jefferson, and in the "skid row" section only a few blocks away from Little Tokyo. When compared to the numbers listed in the Rafu Shimpo in 1940, the present business and professional activity represents a little less than a 25 percent comeback.

Similarly, the extent of financial recovery is minute compared to the millions of dollars worth of business lost in the evacuation. The \$26,000,000 a year wholesale produce business is practically untouched; the retail fruit markets which did \$25,000,000 worth of business annually, and the several million dollar fishing industry are practically extinct. Returned evacuees must now depend primarily on sources of livelihood outside the control of the Japanese community.

In terms of importance to the group as a whole, therefore, a discussion of employment in Los Angeles should logically follow at this point. However, as a means of providing a basis of comparison with the prewar economic situation, the extent of recovery of business enterprise will be presented first, followed by a resume concerning employment.

Business recovery in Los Angeles. After the Japanese left, Little Tokyo became a ghost town. With the influx of war workers, Los Angeles became one of the critical housing areas in the United States, and in 1944 this location was opened for occupancy. Little Tokyo became Bronzeville, providing living space for thousands of in migrant workers, a majority of them Negroes. A number of small shops as well as hotels were opened up by these newcomers. Physically run down before the war, deterioration continued.

When the exolusion was rescinded by the Army early in 1945 the Japanese were cautious in returning to the west coast, and it was not until the last four months of 1945 that great numbers came to Los Angeles. For these, housing and employment were the most immediate needs, and during the first six months of 1946, Japanese business activity was slow to pick up. What there was--restaurants, food stores, and hotels--directly served these needs.

As the people became more settled, additional shops were opened and gradually the wartime businessmen were displaced by Japanese merchants. Predictions of widespread conflict between the returning Japanese and the Negroes who had taken over Little Tokyo proved false. A Negro upholsterer living in the West Jefferson area voiced an attitude which appeared to be widely held among his people generally:

"Now, when the Japanese have moved back, it is no better than right that they should get back their places, because this is their home."

He continued:

"I have a lot of work that I've done for the Japanese. I've got five pieces right here this minute. And Henry S. who has his cleaning shop just a few doors away is doing a fine business. He gets most of the colored trade, and he gives them good service."/1

Owners of property were far from unwilling to see the Japanese return. Apart from inflated rentals, they could anticipate a general brightening of the area. Thus the Nisei proprietor of an appliance shop stated:

"The owner was anxious to have the Japanese come back because it would mean that the place would be cleaned up and the building kept up better...The owner liked me because of the kind of business I was thinking of opening up, and also because he knew that I had a brother in the Army. Other Japanese put up higher bids on the

lease, but because I was in good with the owner, I got the place."/1

As businessmen opened up shops in Little Tokyo, competition for space became keen and Japanese businessmen began outbidding each other for prized locations.

This practice was described by a professional man in Little Tokyo as follows:

"Japanese psychology is a funny thing. They hate to see anybody get ahead. As soon as somebody starts making a little money, others soon tear him apart. They did that before evacuation and they are merciless now. What happens is this: One man buys a lease and starts a business. He does well and begins to make a little money. Then another man seeing his success starts talking to the owner (of the building) and tells him that he will pay him more for the lease when it expires, and also that he will give him more rent. So the owner goes to the present occupant and tells him about it, and says that since he is already in business, he should get first chance. The present occupant, in order not to lose his lease consents to paying the increased rent to match his competitor."/1

The initial cost of opening business has been high. In all cases, the tenants have had to clean and remodel stores under lease at their own expense. The Japanese have done a remarkable job of giving a better physical appearance to an area of deterioration, but such remodeling has been expensive and difficult.

Only a few of the hardest hit by the evacuation--those who owned their businesses or were otherwise self employed before the war--have returned to resume their former business. A former bookkeeper now operator of a service agency in Little Tokyo remarked that:

"The businesses owned now are operated by people who were engaged in something else before the war. Many are out-of-towners, and many were gardeners, or something else, and got established here. They don't know how to keep books, and can't hire full-time bookkeepers, so they get their high school daughters or sons to keep books, and have us supervise them."/1

The experience of an Issei waiter in a Japanese restaurant located near the wholesale produce market is illustrative of what happened to many of the former businessmen:

"I owned the restaurant next door (before evacuation). Just about five months before evacuation I remodeled the entire restaurant. I had put in about \$8,000. I bought two new ice boxes, an ice cream freezer, a coca cola box, new waffle irons, toasters, tables, and finished the wall over the brick...When evacuation time came, I was offered \$700. I sold it because there was nothing else to do. There were other things too. We had enough food stored away for a year's business. I bought a truck a short time before that to buy vegetables directly from the farmers. All of these things were also sold at a loss."

Another businessman also felt that:

"It is the big businessmen of prewar days who are the ones who are not on their feet. Mr. H. for instance, had one of the biggest department stores in Little Tokyo. He lost everything because one of his brothers was in Japan handling the import-export end. Other stores like the A Company will probably not be reopened. They will never come back, because Broadway is too close by. People would just as soon travel a few minutes more to get into the center of town as to stop off here at a Japanese dry goods store." /1

Of the types of small businesses coming into existence in Los Angeles, hotels seem to be the most profitable. To those returning, it solved both the housing problem and employment problem. Before the war, hotels, apartments, and rooming houses numbered some 360. It was estimated that 75 percent of these prewar Japanese operated hotels and apartments were of transient type catering to the American public with 90 percent of the total located in metropolitan Los Angeles. Present estimates are that 200 hotels and apartment houses are owned or under the control of Japanese. Except for those exclusively housing homeless Japanese, the pattern now is the same as that set before the war. For the most part these hotels are located in the skid row section of town, or in other areas where clientele is mainly from transient groups. Although prices on leases have been high, income has also been high. Competition has been keen for hotels and apartments and owners have taken advantage of the demand. A hotel proprietor remarked of an available hotel a few blocks from his own place of business:

"I don't know if you remember the "Benjamin Hotel" a couple of blocks from here, but when the Japanese who owned it left for camp, he got \$8,000 for the lease. It is held at \$32,000 now. We paid \$3,700 for this hotel before the war, but we can get \$12,000 for it today if we wanted to sell it." /1

That income has been good is attested to by an Issei who bought a hotel for \$12,000 just off Hill Street near Third Street:

"The profits are now just about double what they were when I first came in. I owned five hotels before the war and I know just how much money they bring in peace time. If this condition lasts for another three years, I'll be pretty secure economically." /1

Not a little criticism, however, has been brought against hotel owners. When tenants are all Japanese, exploitation has been especially common:

"Mr. S. opened up a place, and charges up to \$90 for an apartment. Of course, it may be the best one, but even for a smaller place, you have to pay \$45 or so. He is making all kinds of money and his nose is stuck pretty high in the air." /1

Another person says:

"Talking about making money, the hotels...are all making money off of the Japanese. Of course they have to get their investment back, but sometimes it gets pretty hard. For instance, there is one case where a man makes \$200 a month and lives in a hostel where he pays \$80 a month for one room. This one room houses his wife, himself, and five children." /1

Another Japanese was less restrained:

"Some of these Japanese hotel owners ought to be publicly horsewhipped. They charge families \$2 and \$3 a night for a room when the OPA sets the price around \$1. They know that the Japanese have to have a place to live, and the Japanese don't complain to the OPA. Among Japanese, they will not report because they will be booted out, and another Japanese family will move in." /1

The future of the hotel business is uncertain, and much depends upon the type of tenants. Those housing only Japanese are shaky, for tenants will move out as they find permanent quarters. In non-segregated transient areas, with the general housing shortage remaining extremely acute in Los Angeles, hotels with a general clientele should do good business for a number of years.

Before the war there were approximately 350 Japanese operated restaurants and cafes. About 80 percent of these were located near general

employment centers and catered almost exclusively to American trade. At the present time the estimated number of restaurants and cafes is between 35 and 50. Although most of them are still located in Little Tokyo and its immediate neighborhood, the number of restaurants there has reached an apparent saturation point, and the trend if not stationary is toward decrease or movement away from that section. During the early stages of the relocation program, this was a particularly successful enterprise. Thus, it was noted:

"Among the more prosperous businesses during the early days of resettlement were the restaurants, both American and Japanese style, and the cafes. For many who lived in hostels and hotels and in temporary trailer quarters, it was easier to 'eat out'--these taverns were patronized three times a day by many...there are 30 within a four block square that comprise Li'l Tokyo."/1

As the people moved out of the congested area, business declined. In the fall of 1946 an accountant close to the business scene of Little Tokyo indicated:

"I feel safe in saying that of all of the restaurants in Little Tokyo, only two of them are making money. Help costs so much that many of the people would rather be employees than owners."/1

The grocery stores are few in number and have nothing like their prewar employment. While getting their beginning in Little Tokyo, they also have a tendency to branch out into the wider community. Those located in Little Tokyo sell general types of food stuffs, but specialize in Japanese processed foods, with patronage largely Japanese. As the Japanese population disperses, there will be a lesser dependence on Little Tokyo stores. Neighborhood markets and chain stores offer a wider selection at lower prices, and these will be more regularly patronized.

The fruit and vegetable stands, of primary importance before the war, have been slow in coming back, with not more than 25 to 30 in operation at the end of 1946. According to one experienced retailer:

"The Caucasians have learned much about fruit and vegetable markets. Before the war the Japanese had a virtual monopoly. When the evacuation came along, they lost all this and are having a difficult time getting back in. When leases are available in the large chain stores, they are pretty high, and only one man, so far, has been making good."/1

As noted earlier, the fruit and vegetable stands also lack the support of a Japanese controlled wholesale produce market, which before the war was backed in turn by a prosperous and well organized group of Japanese farmers. The recovery of this enterprise to its prewar proportions remains highly questionable.

The flower market of Los Angeles is the one major business field where the Japanese enterpriser has been able to reestablish himself in a strong competitive position. Before the war there were three large flower markets in Los Angeles, of which the Japanese owned Southern California Flower Market Association located on Wall Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets was the largest of its kind in California. It did between two and three million dollars worth of business annually.

This market was exclusively wholesale, operated by the growers themselves. Although the building was large enough to accommodate 200 tables, the membership was limited to 159, and only members were permitted to sell. Aside from owning the building, the Association maintained two parking lots for growers and customers.

During the war the building and parking lots were leased to Caucasian operators and it was well along in 1946 before the Japanese growers again took over. At present, 65 active members supplemented by 66 additional Japanese and 28 Caucasian growers are using the building. While the privileges of the Association are restricted to members, space is rented to non-members until such time as the organization can build up its roster.

During the war more growers came into production, and additional flower markets came into existence. When the Japanese returned, therefore, they had open competition not only from existing flower markets but with large Caucasian growers. The Japanese who had maintained 10 and 20 acre establishments found themselves faced with growers who had 40 and 50 acres producing flowers.

In the face of this competition, the Japanese also were troubled by boycotts from growers and seed stores. Credit was slow in being extended, and the stores that sold seed and insecticides to Japanese were boycotted by Caucasian farmers. This was broken down to a large extent by the determination of the Japanese to stay, and when there was realization on the part of Caucasians in the retail field that the Japanese would be a source of profitable business. Most of the earnings of the first year of postwar operation had to be plowed back into the business. It was still too early, at the end of 1946, to judge whether the enterprise will emerge to its commanding position of before the war.

The experience of the Nisei manager of a smaller independent flower market, who was the first in this field to return after the west coast

was reopened, is of interest. This market was kept open during the war by a Caucasian manager who represented the owners, a Japanese family of a father and three sons.

"I came back in January, the 11th, to be exact, just about 11 days after the west coast was opened up. Joe S. (one of the Nisei owners) wanted me to come back to look the situation over. The manager said that it was too early.

"I went to work on the morning of February 17, and there were signs all over posted 'No Japs allowed between 7th and 8th Street on Wall'. I stayed inside the building, not daring to stick my head out. I went home that day, ready to give up. I was staying with Dr. Wexler, Chairman of the Methodist Board of Southern California. He saw my long face, and asked what the matter was. I told him and he immediately made arrangements to see the Mayor. Protection was promised, and the next day, Tuesday, there were policemen inside and outside of our store. A radio car stood outside. The police told me that I had nothing to fear, and that I would be given every protection possible.

"A couple of months later Peter (another Nisei partner) came back. At that time they broke our windows. We don't know who did it to this day.

"You see, I figured that four out of ten were for us, and six were against us. Out of a hundred, there were forty. In a thousand there are four hundred. And there are about 1,000 people or more out here on the busy days.

"The thing that is funny is that those boys that I used to go fishing and hunting with, those boys that I used to invite over to my house for dinner, and they would also invite me over to their house, were some of the worst. The funny part is, we didn't lose any business. Only one person took away his account because I came back, and his business wasn't worth much anyway. To counteract that, there were many of our old customers who did not buy from us during the war because we were away, came back and brought their business to us. So we have more business than we had during the war.

"One of the funniest things was a man who came in one day and shouted in front of everyone, 'I wouldn't spend a dime in a store run by Japs!' He runs a flower shop that is connected with a funeral home. He has to have

flowers. One day he called up and asked for some flowers, and I said all right, we would provide him with anything we had. The other boys in the store didn't want his business and told me to tell him to go to hell. But I said that I would handle it, and now his account runs over \$1,400 a month. Just a couple of months ago he called up and said he wanted to see me, and we went over to the restaurant for a cup of coffee. He says to me 'I made a fool of myself, saying those things in front of those people. I'm sorry I did it.' I said, 'forget it, it doesn't matter.' But he said over and over again, and wanted to know if we were on good terms. I said 'sure.' Well, just a little while ago, he wanted to know if I would go fishing with him, so his wife, and my wife, and I went out, and afterwards he took us out to dinner. You see, that's the way it goes."/1

The greenhouse operators and nurserymen, who before the war formed an important segment of the business community, likewise were making a fair start but had encountered many difficulties. Concerning his problems, a greenhouse operator of nearby Gardena offered the following:

"At the time of evacuation we were offered 5 cents on the dollar for our potted plants. Rather than doing that, we took a heavy loss by dumping our plants...the reason why we took such a loss was because it takes about 14 months to grow the type of plant we grow. At that time there was still six or seven months to go and we had already put in 75 cents worth of labor and material in each plant...our equipment depreciated, and rust set in. We have had to spend quite a bit of money to put them back in shape."

As for his present outlook:

"My investment is long term. I planted my first crop in July 1946, and they will be ready for market next October 1947. All of these things you see on the counter we can put out in four months, but there is no money in them. I put them out so that we can have pocket money...Labor, seeds, fertilizer, and all are paid out in cash. Everything goes out, and nothing comes in. As I have been out of the market since evacuation, methods have changed and I don't know what to expect. I am making a gamble just like the rest of these growers."/1

Another, who returned to his greenhouse at Venice found his equipment scattered, his glass in need of repair and his steam equipment

unusable. It was by mid-1946 before he again had his physical plant in working order. A returned neighbor found a similar problem which had resulted from the induction into the Army of the employee to whom he had leased at the time of evacuation. A second neighbor who had leased to his former salesman returned to find the plant in excellent working order, and he was able almost immediately to get back into the market with his "mystery gardenia", in which he had specialized before the war.

In addition to the problems of getting started, the greenhouse and nurserymen have had some difficulty in selling their merchandise because of boycotts by a number of retail outlets. However, the threat of boycott has had mixed results, as indicated by a Nisei nursery broker:

"When a Caucasian buys from us, and is boycotted by other Caucasians, that means we have less competition. For every Cauoasian retail nursery they boycott for buying from us, it means that all of that firm's trade will come to us. Most of the Cauoasians know the quality of merchandise grown by the Japanese, and because of this, our business will continue to grow while those of the Caucasians will continue to decline. Right now, there is not enough stuff that the Japanese have to supply the demand.

"Here, however, it is not entirely a question of race and boycotting. It is entirely an economic consideration. As the same person illustrates, the consumer demands quality, and they will buy from whoever sells the best merchandise. They were afraid that the Japanese would take away their business, and therefore wanted to keep them out. It is not a question of race, it is business."1

For most of the nurserymen, the first year or two is expected to be the most difficult. Their merchandise is purchased and then resold. Their margin of profit is small. As time goes by, they will be able to sell their own cuttings, and realize a greater margin of profit.

The future looks bright because of the rapid expansion of residential areas. All of these will have to be landscaped, and as the Japanese regain their position in the field, they should profit.

Contract gardening is difficult to classify either as a business enterprise or as straight employment. As a means of livelihood, the source of income lies altogether in the Caucasian community, but control of the work lies with the contractor. Accordingly, the following discussion arbitrarily has been placed in the section dealing with business recovery.

Before the war, approximately 2,000 gardeners were averaging \$125 a month. In 1946 there were 3,000 or more and earnings of \$400 to \$600 were not unusual. In addition to prewar professional gardeners, this work has drawn the returning Japanese from all sections of the Japanese community including former businessmen, produce operators, veterans, teen-age boys, older Issei farmers and young Nisei trained for professional work. The popularity of contract gardening, as explained by a Los Angeles Nisei, is to be found in the extraordinary earnings possible:

"After all, a man, no matter what race, is going to get into something that gives him the best return for his labor. Take a friend of mine who worked in the fruit market before the war. He studied engineering in college and wanted to get a job as a draftsman, but none was available to the Japanese before the war. He went to Chicago and worked there as a draftsman. He returned to Los Angeles and got a similar type of a job. But he quit and went to work as a gardener. Why? Because gardening paid him twice as much as he was getting paid as a draftsman."/1

Another important fact in the drawing power of gardening has been the small initial investment necessary in getting started. In some cases, work has been exchanged for equipment as in the experience of a former outstanding leader in the Gardeners Association of Southern California. He returned to California in late March 1945. His daughter had come a few weeks earlier to take over their home from tenants. When he arrived, he found his garage had been broken into and all his gardening equipment taken. His pick-up truck had been stripped so thoroughly he had to buy a new one. He had many questions as to the reaction of would-be customers to an Issei; he inquired around somewhat cautiously and soon found people who were willing to hire him. The first jobs were for places that had plenty of equipment. He worked by the hour. After a time he approached one of his customers, who owned about everything a gardener would wish for, with a proposition. He offered to take care of this man's grounds for a year, free of charge, in exchange for his equipment. The man made a counter proposition. Mr. N. could have the equipment in exchange for taking care of the grounds for four months, provided Mr. N. would continue thereafter to be his gardener on contract at the prevailing rate. N. now has three gardeners working for him, and is prospering.

Except in detail, the experience of others who took up gardening in Los Angeles was similar and the first to get back into business were able to secure lucrative contracts. In further illustration:

"When I returned here back in January of 1945, over a year and a half ago, the war was still going on, but reception was very good. A few had returned, and some of the larger estates were pretty well run-down, and they wanted gardeners. Some of the braver estate owners called on gardeners, then the neighbors seeing that nothing went wrong, would whisper over to the gardener to take care of his property. In this way, the early ones found themselves taking care of six or seven estates all located in the same block. He saved time in his work; he could turn on the water in one estate while he trimmed the other places...Then they would do what gardeners call 'clean up'. It is a dirty job and no one wants to do it. So they charge about \$50 and two fellows can do it in one day."/1

Of work and earnings, a Nisei gardener stated:

"Before the war a guy had to go around to each place three times a week for half of what we get now. Now we go only twice a week and get twice as much money for it. There is all kinds of gardening work to be done and we can just about get what we demand. Of course I know all the ropes, but even those who have just gotten started have no trouble making \$400 a month."/1

The solution to a problem which bothered many of the old line gardeners--that of raising prices in keeping with demand--was described in an interview with another of the Issei who returned early to Los Angeles:

"The gardeners here are all mixed up. Almost none of them are working for their old customers. You see, the prices are higher now. We don't like to ask our old customers for more money. We know they would be willing to pay it, but we just don't like to bring up the matter with them. So we go to work for people we didn't know before. It is all right to give them the new price. I do this way myself. Often I meet a man who asks me if I know where so and so is. He would like to have his old gardener back again. Maybe I know where the man lives. But usually I don't tell the old customer anyway. I tell the man, so if he wants to, he could go around to visit.

"Some men are making very good money. For instance, Mr. N. has three helpers. His net income is \$500 or \$600 a month. A lot of the fellows are getting \$300 and \$400 a month."/1

The increase in the numbers of gardeners in Los Angeles was so great during the summer of 1946, that a vernacular columnist pointed out that some sort of regulatory organization had become essential:

"Competition, fierce now, threatens to become worse as charges of cut-throating and price-cutting are being bruited about in the best non-union manner. Disgruntled Nisei gardeners, fearing that unfair price slashing and underselling of labor will inevitably force them out of business and deprive them of a livelihood, charge the Issei element with practices inimical to their welfare. Almost indefensible, the Issei can only point to their distinct handicap in language, in rebuttal, and blithely go on working for less--unless something is done to set prices.

"The need for organization is essential. Both factions should get together for mutual benefit and arrive at a working agreement based on recognition of each other's rights and needs. And sooner, the better."/9

While keen competition continued and some price cutting was becoming apparent, as of December 1946 no organization had come into being, nor had the rate of earnings shown sign of slackening.

To many, gardening is a temporary expedient by which to build capital against the time they can invest in a small business or retire. For the older Issei, especially those lacking experience, gardening is heavy and difficult work, and some have been forced to drop out because of the physical strain. A Los Angeles Issei physician commented on this:

"The three or four years that the Issei have spent loafing in camp is not doing them any good now. Most of them are in their 60's and although they should be able to work yet, their bodies are not holding up because it is difficult for them to get adjusted again. If they continue straight through, it would be a different story. The old line gardeners are not having too difficult a time because they know just how much to exert themselves. But it is twice as hard for those who are not acquainted with the work."/1

Not a few Nisei feel that unless the Japanese are reestablished in business or in more stable employment, the first sign of depression will see many of them suffering greatly. A young man surveying the situation remarked:

"The days that people made money were when they first came back. I think gardening will always earn a man a living, but what the heck, not everyone before the war was a gardener...Unless the Japanese get back on their feet into other lines of work within the next two years when there is a demand for workers, they'll never re-establish themselves. It will be sad."/1

As with the gardeners, the professional men are difficult to classify in occupational terms within the framework of this report. Since they too have independent control over their enterprise, an outline of the experience of this group of Japanese Americans has been fitted into this section.

The professionals have had little difficulty in resuming operation. Doctors, lawyers, dentists, and optometrists have seized upon the opportunity for service to the Japanese population. Legal difficulties over housing, restrictive covenants, real estate, violation of alien land laws, and other legal aspects of resettlement have kept the lawyers busy. The age of the Issei, neglect of health, and dental troubles developed in the relocation centers have occupied much of the doctors' and dentists' time. Many Issei women who found jobs in clothing factories have been fitted with glasses. Of the professions mentioned above, the dentists and optometrists are perhaps the ones whose clientele has expanded most into the wider community. One dentist has an almost exclusive non-Japanese clientele, and several others draw a considerable proportion from the wider community. The extent of business expansion among optometrists is indicated by an Issei practitioner:

"When I got back this place was still full of Negroes and there were only a few Japanese. But my business was good from the beginning because many of the people had neglected their eyes in camp. I also have a lot of colored trade...They have the money and spend it freely...We now have more business than we ever did. Many of the people who work in this neighborhood come in for small check-ups, and then when they find out that we give small services for a nominal sum, they come back for examinations and new glasses."/1

In addition, this informant had touched upon an aspect of the present Little Tokyo business situation which is significantly different from that of the pre-Pearl Harbor period; that in segregated Little Tokyo there is no longer complete dependence on Japanese trade. Many businessmen look to Negro trade to postpone the otherwise inevitable decline of business in this section for lack of customers. The extent to which this trade is important to the Japanese merchants is indicated by the following statement made by a Japanese businessman:

"Before the war, this place was beginning to look pretty run-down even for Japanese, because business was poor, and the tenants didn't know when they would be moving out...For a couple of years at least, I think there will be an improvement in this district. If the Negroes don't move out wholesale, then we will have the trade to keep us going.

"There has never been any friction between racial groups, and indications are that they will continue that way. More than 50 percent of our business is with the Negroes, as a matter of fact, I think it is closer to 60 or 70 percent."/1

The process of racial accommodation in Little Tokyo was described by a Negro social worker as follows:

"As the Japanese came back, property values went up, and rentals went up with it. The Negro shops cater to the Negroes only, while the Japanese shops cater to Negroes, Whites, and Japanese. In other words, when a Japanese comes into town, they go to a Japanese store or restaurant. The Negro will go into either Japanese or Negro owned shops. The whites working in the vicinity patronize the Japanese restaurants, stores, and ice cream parlors. Gradually, as the Negroes move out, the Negro stores will close down."/1

In the future relationship between the two groups, that much will depend upon the attitude of the Japanese merchants, is brought out by the same social worker:

"I don't think the total population of Little Tokyo has gone down much, and I don't think it will decrease much more. Since the Japanese were relocated back on the coast, the Negroes in their travel throughout the country would deliberately look up Japanese places to eat their meals, and for rooms, and they did this because they felt and knew that the Japanese were not discriminatory in their business practices. I think of all races, the Japanese will do business with anyone who brings it to them. But as I've said before, they have a way of 'unobjectionable infiltration' that may eventually put the Negroes out. In other words, I feel that the next move is up to the Japanese."/1

The Japanese businessman who qualified his prediction of continued prosperity by adding, "if the Negroes don't move out" was in actuality

asking a question rather than stating a fact. Aside from generally favorable relationships between the two groups, there is little evidence at this time which can be used to answer this question.

Nevertheless, optimism concerning the business future was expressed by the Los Angeles vernacular newspaper in a summary of experience up to January 1947:

"Businessmen continued to set a high pace in their come-back march. Competition is much keener. More stores and more customers aided in the impetus. While there was only one store selling a particular type of commodity a year ago, there are two or three of the same today. The barbers, shoe repairers, jewelers, soda jerkers--all have increased in number."/10

It can be granted that the Little Tokyo business come-back has been remarkable considering evacuation losses, but the total of Japanese controlled business remains far below prewar levels. If it has gained a Negro clientele in partial compensation for the loss of customers from among the prosperous prewar Japanese farmers of the Los Angeles trading area, it still rests on the economic base of a circumscribed and deteriorating area. Increased activity also means increased competition, and not a few are dubious that business in this section can withstand the rigors of a recession which many expect.

One result of the doubts caused by these factors has been a resumption of the prewar trend toward business expansion in the larger community. The most important of the prewar enterprises catering to the total population of Los Angeles--the retailing of fruit and vegetables--has come back only on minute scale, but a beginning has been made in other lines.

Dry cleaning shops, food stores, hotels, florists, and nurseries predominate in businesses being established outside Little Tokyo. Self-consciousness and fear of being discriminated against have been the greatest source of anxiety in opening up stores away from Little Tokyo. But the experience of Nisei who have made such a move have proved that community sentiment is good. After a period of tenseness they have become a part of the routine of community living:

"The economic picture looks bright if the people will branch out in business in the wider community...for the first two weeks they may wonder about you being a Japanese, but after that, you are an individual, judged according to your merits."/1

That this is not an exceptional statement is indicated by the experience of a young lady who operates a dry cleaning shop in a suburban community:

"At first, he (her cousin) said that treating the customers as nicely as I do was bad business, but it is paying. The customers come back and new ones come in. At first it was bad because many would try to take advantage of us, but as I got to know them, and they me, we got along fine...this district is expanding, and I think there is a good future here."/1

A proprietor of a service station also remarked that:

"When I first opened up last October (1945), almost a year ago, my first Caucasian customers would drive up, then they would see that I was a Japanese and they would drive away. I didn't blame them at that time... But now, and from about three or four months after I got started, a few of the Caucasians began stopping and found that I gave prewar service. Once they came in, they became regular customers."/1

As the pressure of wartime sentiment continues to ease, the trend away from Little Tokyo will continue. The financial losses incurred in the evacuation has led a number of Japanese to take work at the high wages now obtainable in gardening and in the factories. As soon as family capital is built up sufficiently, additional small business enterprises will be developed, and most of these will be designed to serve the larger community.

Employment in Los Angeles. The extent of employment in Japanese controlled private enterprise has been indicated in the previous section. As we have seen, such opportunities are scant, aside from contract gardening, and the primary means of livelihood must now be found outside Japanese economic control. Fortunately, in the postwar situation, possibilities for such employment of Japanese Americans have been more numerous, pay has been higher and prospects for advancement better than ever was the case before Pearl Harbor.

The most noteworthy departure from the prewar economic pattern in the Los Angeles Japanese American community--after the fact of diminished dependence of Japanese controlled enterprises for livelihood--is the vastly increased number of Japanese American women, both Issei and Nisei, who are now employed in Los Angeles.

As will be shown later, employment discrimination against Nisei and Issei men, especially in white collar work, was a problem in Los Angeles after return was authorized. While this has progressively cleared up, Japanese American women have been in high demand from the very beginning. In particular, competition for Nisei girls as secretaries and stenographers has been keen. They have been able to get jobs, not only in the Civil Service, but in private firms. If the women did not have office skill, the demand for garment workers drained the Japanese female labor market. The process of acceptance of the Japanese women in office jobs and in garment factories is of interest. The manager of the Nisei Employment Agency, largely responsible for garment factory jobs related the following:

"It was through domestic jobs that I was able to contact people in various manufacturing work. Greer, one of the clothiers, had Japanese help in his home, and I asked him if he could use any Japanese girls in his factory. He said that he would be glad to try them. Pretty soon there were girls working in every one of the factories on Los Angeles Street between First Street and Pico. I have placed about 1,000 women, and for each one, many more have gone without my placement."/1

That his claim is not without support is seen in a statement made by a minister of one of the Japanese churches:

"The girls and women can get jobs anywhere they want. In stores on Broadway, in Beverly Hills, in the County and City offices. It is remarkable. They are in demand. I placed several in an exclusive dress shop in Beverly Hills where they earn about \$10 a day, and on Saturday, when they work, they make \$15."/1

The experience of a Nisei girl working in a clothing factory in Hollywood further substantiates the statement:

"On La Brea and Beverly around quitting time, it is almost like Japanese town with so many Japanese women boarding the buses...Whenever a vacancy occurs in our factory, the foremen asks us if we know of some Japanese girl who might like a job. They don't ask the others. I think it is because they want Japanese women to work there."/1

That opportunities in clothing factories have not been limited to Nisei is seen in the statement of an optometrist in Little Tokyo:

"An amazing thing is that there are all kinds of openings for Issei women. Many of the older Issei women

came in for glasses so that they can get jobs operating power machines in clothing factories. When I first came into town, I applied for such a job in Boyle Heights, but was turned down because they did not know what the reception of the fellow workers would be. But now there is such a demand for Japanese workers that there are not enough to fill them."/1

While perhaps not as spectacular as in the clothing factories, the Nisei office workers have had an equally good experience. An employee of the California Employment Division told the field worker covering Los Angeles:

"If you know of any Nisei girl looking for a secretarial job, let me know because I can place her without difficulty. Jobs are available for immediate placement."/1

An Issei whose interest has long been in the activities of Nisei states:

"L. went to the USES and they referred her to the City Attorney's office. She was asked if she could start work that day starting at \$185 a month with opportunities for advancement."/1

Domestic jobs have been available not only to girls but to couples. Though this type of job was popular with Japanese when they first returned to Los Angeles, they have been leaving it as they found housing. The manager of an employment agency felt one of the reasons lay in the nature of the Nisei:

"We can place people in various places where they are willing to pay up to \$375 to \$400 a month. But the Japanese are not suited to this type of work. The Issei and Kibei girls may be fitted, but the Nisei, brought up in this country where they are independent, don't last. The Englishman can serve as a butler, the German can serve as a house-woman and be happy because of their training. But anyone brought up in this country just can't fit into that type of work. So even if there are good domestic jobs open, I don't place the Nisei."/1

However, some who have gone into domestic work have found working conditions very good. Members of the film colony and others have in their employ both Issei and Nisei.

Among men, light industrial work, a field employing few Nisei before the war, comes next to gardening in utilizing the services of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles. The estimated number working in these plants is 2,900 and earnings average about \$1 an hour. Although such routine work is looked upon with some distaste, Nisei believe there is possibility for advancement, and as time goes on, there are indications they may become adjusted to it.

Reception in the phonograph record companies such as Columbia, Decca, Capital, and Modern has been good. Approximately 250 are now working in these companies and in some cases, except for a few Caucasians, the entire crew is made up of Nisei. Wage levels are dependent upon the skill of the individual, but within a few weeks it is possible even for the slower workers to earn about \$70 a week. A University graduate working in the Decca factory spoke of the work and possibilities for advancement as follows:

"The first two weeks we just stand around watching the pressers in action, learning how to run the presses. The minimum pay is $85\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour for the day shift. For the night shift it is 95 cents an hour. So the minimum one makes during the first two weeks is not less than 95 cents an hour. Then when we actually begin the pressing of records, if we can make more than our base pay, they pay us by piece work. I can press out between 125 and 140 records an hour, but out of that, I feel that if we can press 100 good records, we do well. You see, they pay \$1.25 for one hundred perfect records. Then there are different unavoidable situations that arise. For instance, when the master plate warps, or is scratched, or when there is no stock, it is neither the fault of the management or the workers, so we get paid either our average pay, or the minimum, according to the circumstances.

"The work is hard, and during the summer it gets especially difficult to withstand the pressure of heat in the factory. Many Nisei came to work, and dropped off as soon as they found they had to go through the training period, at low wages. Some of us older men felt that it created a bad impression, and now we have set an unwritten policy that no Nisei is to work unless he will stick. For most employees it is still a matter of six months employment because of the nature of the work, but we feel that in that length of time we will be able to work ourselves into foremen jobs requiring less arduous work, and more pay. If we maintain the reputation

we are now building, there is no reason to believe that we will not get there."/1

In small assembly plants, the Nisei have done equally well. In a factory assembling steel springs for mattresses, a 21 year old Nisei states:

"In about three weeks we got the knack of it and from then we were able to work pretty fast...We do piece work. We get 29 cents for a small spring and I average about \$1.35 an hour while my brother makes about \$1.50 an hour. Hamada, another Nisei, makes about \$100 a week. He is the fastest worker in the factory."/1

While these boys are members of large Caucasian crews, a few blocks away is the Moody Mattress Factory, a place of employment for over 100 Issei and Nisei. A policy of non-discrimination has brought together employees of nine different racial or cultural groups. Although minor difficulties did arise, no great issue arose in the hiring of the first Nisei. The significant development following the initial hiring of a Nisei, as in many other early cases of employment in Caucasian firms, is the fact that new openings followed in other related types of work. As told by the owner, the experience of the first Nisei to be hired resulted in further demands for Nisei:

"Aki S. came to work and soon found a place for himself. Because of his friendly nature, he was quickly accepted as a co-worker. It was not long afterwards that a secretary was hired, and other firms visiting Moody saw her fine personal appearance, and efficiency, and this opened the way for other private firms in hiring Nisei girls. The truck drivers paved the way for the hiring of Nisei in other furniture shops."/1

Several Nisei have been able to get jobs in old line factories such as the Goodyear and Firestone Rubber plants, but a greater number have gone into a great variety of the shops that have grown up since the war. They are employed mainly as assemblers of small items such as poker chip racks, electric etchers, aluminum pots and pans, toys, and bedsprings.

Cafeterias and restaurants have also drawn upon a large number of Japanese Americans. They work in the better establishments such as the Boos Brothers, Cliftons, Van de Camp, Ciro's, and others including those in the Wilshire district as well as those in Little Tokyo and the Skid Row area. About 2,500 is the estimated number working in these establishments. Wages run from 65 cents an hour in the transition area establishments to \$300 a month or more in the better places. However, except for chefs, the less skilled dishwashers and busboys have considered

these jobs only a means of immediate employment and income. A number of Issei as well as Nisei are employed. An Issei working in a better neighborhood made this comment:

"I am working at the Richlor's restaurant at La Ciengage and Wilshire Boulevard. I am a bus boy...there are about 15 or 16 other dishwashers, bus boys, and stockroom clerks. We are the lowest paid on the staff, but we make \$1 an hour with meals, so it is not bad. However, most of us are looking for other jobs, so as soon as we get something better, we take it."/1

While no accurate estimate can be made, the number of college educated Nisei who have returned to Los Angeles is evidently not very large. The greater majority are to be found in the Midwest or East. Although white collar employment with Caucasian firms was almost non-existent for men before the war, a few on their return have been able to get employment in Civil Service, dental, and other laboratories, or have opened up their own professional offices. Several have found employment with advertising firms.

More than a few veterans have been bewildered by the employment situation. In this respect their experience is perhaps not entirely out of line with that of Caucasian veterans. But with the Nisei, there is still an element of discrimination which prevents them from getting jobs requiring face to face contacts with customers, or where they would be required to work with Caucasians who may be prejudiced. A discouraged veteran of the 442nd related his dilemma:

"I wish I were back in Italy. It was pretty soft there. Didn't have to worry about anything. Out here a guy has to look out for himself and try to get a good job. I was out in Milwaukee where I got one year of experience working in the shop of the Yellow Cab Company. I tried to get a job out here in the same line, but they all tell me that I have to have at least three years experience. But I think they gave me the same kind of run-around they give to all Nisei, because a friend of mine who recently opened up a garage on 36th and Normandie told me of the same kind of experience. He is a good mechanic, and could get a job any place he wanted to back East. He is qualified. When he first came back here, he tried about two dozen places, and was told each time that the job was just filled. He got suspicious and went to the back to see a mechanic and asked whether someone had just been employed. The answer was no. He knew he was being given the run-around."/1

The pattern of discrimination was more widespread when exclusion was first lifted, but the employment situation recently has been described as being better. Many Nisei place the blame on themselves where there has been difficulty in securing suitable employment. This attitude was expressed in an interview with a progressive young Nisei:

"Japanese are now quite dependent upon the majority community economically and find excellent as well as ordinary employment in Caucasian employ. Nisei with a skill can find adequate placement, but they have to push and sell themselves. There are electricians, plumbers, etc., all working for Caucasians, and there is no reason for qualified Japanese not being able to find those jobs. He has to primarily sell himself." /1

A similar conclusion had been reached by Tosh T. who before the evacuation had operated a soft drink stand in San Jose, and had worked as salesman for a creamery. His relocation experience, while not typical in terms of occupation, illuminates many of the problems of those returning, as well as the possibilities open to the more mature and aggressive Nisei. Following is his account as given to a field worker:

"I came back from the East in February 1945. When I got home, I went into my house and somebody threw a brick through my window. I called the police and they said that the next thing they would probably do was to shoot bullets into the house so the best thing was to barricade the door with mattresses and the like. They said they couldn't watch the place all the time. We slept in the back without lights for a couple of weeks. The house was in a mess and we could hardly stand the odor of the place. The furniture we had was replaced with shabby stuff. The man that was taking care of the place, renting it out to different people, didn't watch it too carefully, and every time somebody moved out, they took something with them. We found the basement ransacked, and except for a few fixtures, there wasn't much left.

"People were constantly wanting to buy the place while we were gone, but we hung on to it, and now we are plenty glad. When I got back, I went to the Loan Company to pay off the \$1,200 mortgage out of the \$1,400 that we had, and tried to get a loan to improve the place. I wanted to remodel it so that I could get some income out of it. But they wouldn't give it to me. The insurance that I had on the building was still in force, and I wanted to take out another policy, but the company wouldn't give it to me. Later, after I got the

place remodeled, the agent came around to sell me insurance but I said nothing doing.

"In the meantime, my boy got appendicitis. I had to take him to the hospital, and that was more expense. We had to cash in our bonds to pay for it. We were really down and out.

"The lawyer wanted to know what I was going to do. He said I couldn't get a job anyplace, and called up a packing shed to see if they would give me a job. They said no, but I told the man that I would get a job somehow, even if I had to wash dishes. I went to the USES and they referred me to a hotel as a dishwasher. But when I got there, the fellows gave me a dirty look, and I knew I wasn't wanted.

"Then I met a fellow from the Council for Civic Unity, who told me that he knew someone who wanted a machinist, and asked if I knew anything about it. I told him I didn't, but was willing to learn. So for about five months I worked at a place making artificial limbs. In December, after the war was over, the work fell down, and I knew I had to get something else. So in the meantime I had contacted my former boss, and tried to sell him the idea of putting me back on the payroll. He was leery because he didn't know what the reception would be. In the meantime, the company was bought out by one of the large creameries.

"In January 1946, the boss told the company president that I wanted a job, and that I had worked for the company before. The president told him to give me a job. I wanted to look around a little more, so I went on the road in the company's car and made a survey. I came back and told them that there was a future in the Japanese business, and talked him into it. I told him that I wanted to be fair, so that I would start at \$200 a month, plus expenses. Then if I made good, I would ask for a raise.

"They were afraid at first, but I told them I would prove to them I was right. The other employees wondered why I was being hired again when there wouldn't be any use of it. Of course they talked behind my back. But that attitude has changed, and they are saying that the president was smart in hiring me, that he knew what he was

doing. Of course, what they don't know is that I had to sell him the idea.

"At first, of course, I had to confine my work to the Japanese. In Sacramento, one person wanted to start a soft drink place, but he had never operated one before. He had heard that the products of a rival firm were the best, and I had to sell him differently. Since he had no experience, he thought all he had to do was to put a scoop of ice cream in a dish and put it out. I taught him all about the fountain work, and everytime I go to his place, he treats me like a man sent from heaven. He opened up last March and put \$5,000 in, and he has already paid for it. From now on it will be gravy. I worked the same thing in San Francisco with a colored lady.

"In that way, by helping out new customers, I have been able to maintain the highest sales. And I have new customers that I took away from other companies. When I went out to see if I could get some of the Caucasian and Chinese business, the company was surprised that nothing happened, except that I got their business."/1

Tosh related a number of similar incidents. He has put himself in a position where the president and the vice president of the firm have much respect for his judgment and rely on his decisions. He has already been given two raises, the first \$50 and the second \$25, and he hopes before long to reach the \$500--\$600 bracket promised if he continues to produce. In a contest for a \$1,000 prize for each division, he is at the top of the sales division, partly, he admits, because all his sales are new and the others have to sell over and above their previous years' average.

In speaking of possibilities for other Nisei in Caucasian companies, he felt there was growing opportunity, but that they must go after it. The GIs, especially, he feels, should push themselves because they can show they are veterans.

"The trouble with most Nisei is that they don't half try. One rebuff, and they don't try again. Up to the time of the war, things for the Nisei were getting darker and darker. Now, they will get brighter and brighter because they are known all over the Nation, and have proven themselves."/1

While the employment situation is recognized to be getting progressively better, there is still great concern for the future. Many

Japanese Americans expect that an economic recession will have an especially adverse effect on themselves. The fury with which the Japanese are working is partly to counteract the period of depression which they feel will surely follow, as well as to offset the losses of evacuation. and although there are numerous plans for purchasing small businesses and homes when capital accumulates, nevertheless, there is grave concern on the part of a great number who feel themselves economically secure only for the present. Pessimists consider employment to be temporary, the Issei too old to work much longer and business competition in Little Tokyo becoming ruinous. One remarked:

"The Japanese are in a bad situation. The first depression that comes along will find many of them without their shirts. The jobs they have are of a temporary nature and they work off and on. I hate to think of what might happen. The Issei are too old, they can't get around anymore and they don't have a reserve. The businesses on First Street are all cutting each other's throats. A few years of this and everyone will go broke."/1

And from another Nisei:

"Although the wages are high out here, the cost of living is also way up. You take for instance, it used to cost only \$30 a month for room and board in a boarding house, and now it costs \$70. Everything else is the same way. The trouble with people is that they measure money, not according to what it will buy, but with what they were making before the war."/1

Pessimists are not in the majority, but their fears do call attention sharply to the fact that the economic rehabilitation of the evacuated Japanese Americans is far from complete in Los Angeles.

Notes on employment in smaller cities and towns of California.
That the experience of those returning has varied greatly even in the same general locality, is illustrated by the return to the towns of the Imperial Valley. Before the war, El Centro had a Japanese population of about 448, and Brawley 247. From present information, 12 or 15 have returned to the first town but only two have returned to the latter. Similarly, before the war, El Centro and Brawley each had about a dozen Japanese owned business establishments. Today there are no business establishments in Brawley, where sentiment has been extreme, but in El Centro a drug store, a pool hall, and a grocery have been opened, all three relying on non-Japanese trade. A probable explanation for the difference in sentiment between the two towns has been the activities

of a young Caucasian El Centro serviceman who, although interned throughout the war by the Japanese, has been outspoken in demanding fair treatment for the Nisei.

In nearby Coachella Valley, where there were no prewar Japanese owned shops, a Nisei mechanic who started out after his return as a repairman of farm machinery has established a garage, the first and only Japanese business venture in that locality. He has been most successful:

"When people heard I was opening up, work began to pile up. Several months ago work was slack and several of the garages in town had no business, but I always had a dozen or more cars waiting to be fixed, and had to work from 8 a.m. until nearly midnight every day."/1

In spite of the fact that his garage is located two miles out of town, he gets all the city business. When he came to purchase heavy equipment, he was given priority of delivery over the other garages. An acetylene torch outfit had been ordered by several, and when the first to arrive was sent him, owners of the other garages expressed the feeling they were being discriminated against. A recapping service in the town gives him 24 hour service. All this has led him to feel that no better sentiment exists anywhere.

In San Jose, the economic center of the fruitful Santa Clara Valley, the general resettlement picture is optimistic. Approximately 100 families have settled in this city, the great majority within three blocks of the intersection of North Fifth and Jackson Streets. While not the most favorable residential area of the city, it is not badly run down.

There are about three-fourths as many business establishments in San Jose as there were before the war; 40 as against 53. The reestablishment of Japanese businesses has been surprisingly swift, probably because of the notable increase in the total Japanese American population of Santa Clara County. Professionals in the reemerged Japanese section are more numerous than before the war. A life insurance agent reported:

"My business is pretty good. A lot of people gave up their insurance at the time of evacuation or when they were in camp. They want protection again. Besides, people have more cash money than they used to have."/1

With the exception of large families having only one breadwinner, and families handicapped by age and illness, most resettlers are well paid and are accumulating savings.

Of those working in San Jose, the greatest number are in packing sheds and factories. There was a period in 1945 when resettlers found such employment hard to obtain. Now, all packing sheds hire Japanese and quite a few factories accept them. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are plentiful. Labor in the packing sheds, of course, follows the pre-evacuation pattern, with the difference that none of the sheds is run by Japanese and few resettlers have attained supervisory positions. Factory employment, in contrast, is a new development. There was very little before the war.

White-collar positions, outside of the Japanese community, used to be and still are rare. There has been an increase but a very slight one--nothing comparable to what is reported from Los Angeles or San Francisco. Probably no more than 20 out of the Valley's 6,000 resettlers hold white-collar jobs in the offices and stores of the larger community. An extremely competent stenographer finds it necessary to commute from San Jose to San Francisco in order to do secretarial work.

Resettlers have had no great amount of trouble with labor unions since early in the period of return. CIO groups generally opened their doors rather readily. Of the leading unions, only the Teamsters were categorically excluding Japanese late last summer. The situation was not satisfactory with reference to the Cleaners and Dyers, but a working arrangement of a sort has been arrived at.

Notes on San Francisco. Of the three centers of prewar Japanese population, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Francisco, the latter has more nearly regained its prewar numbers, but has been slowest in its postwar development. The 1940 census indicates that 5,280 persons of Japanese descent resided in San Francisco prior to the war; the present estimate is that between 4,500 and 5,000 are now there, of which number about 30 percent formerly lived elsewhere. The heaviest concentration of Japanese in San Francisco before the war was in the Fillmore district. About 60 percent of the returned Japanese population are living in this district adding to the overcrowded condition created by a heavy influx of workers during the war. Another 20 percent is scattered throughout the city or are concentrated in the Presidio district or at the Federal housing project at Hunter's Point. The remaining 20 percent are living in as domestics.

Japanese business recovery has not been as rapid as it has in Los Angeles and Seattle. Lack of recovery can be traced partially to the fact that prewar business centered in the export-import trade, with control of such trade being held largely by alien Japanese merchants. Of about equal prewar importance to the economic base of the San Francisco Japanese were 140 dry cleaning and laundry establishments scattered throughout the city, about 50 art goods stores, and approximately 250

small stores and service centers located within 20 blocks in the Fillmore district.

Before evacuation, obtaining employment outside of Japanese operated businesses was always difficult. If Japanese Americans were unable to find employment in art good stores or import-export firms, or did not own and operate their own business enterprise, both Issei and Nisei found work as domestics. It was estimated that 20 percent of the Japanese adult population in 1940 were full time domestic workers and another 20 percent were part time domestics. White collar jobs were almost altogether in Japanese firms and little inroad had been made in manufacturing concerns. Other sources of employment were scattered in Japanese operated hotels, restaurants, cleaners, goldfish and bird stores, and food products establishments. About 150 Nisei and Issei men were employed on fishing boats operating from the San Francisco fish harbor.

Since the rescission of exclusion about 150 stores and other business enterprises have been started. In comparison with principal prewar types of business, there are three art goods stores, seven import-export houses, seven dry cleaners, and four laundries. Business depending upon foreign trade has been negligible. Not only has trade with Japan been lacking, but the assets of prewar firms have largely remained frozen. Not a few of the returned Japanese, however, look to the eventual opening of trade between Japan and the United States, and are working at whatever employment is available until that time.

The cleaners and laundries present a somewhat different situation. At the time of evacuation, a number of plants and stores sold out their business, and after the return, equipment has been difficult to secure. In addition, city licenses are issued only upon passing an examination, a fact which has eliminated many of the Issei who cannot read English.

Hotels, 21 in number, have been established, almost all of them located in the Fillmore district. Other businesses include pool halls, grocery stores, a gold fish and bird store, and a number of restaurants.

Aside from its slow development in San Francisco, it is worth noting that Nisei have a proportionately stronger position in the business of that city. A Nisei who checked Japanese operated business in the spring of 1947 noted:

"There is a decided trend showing that the Nisei are beginning to take over business. Issei cannot buy, and the Issei population is beginning to fall off. There were 540 business enterprises among the Japanese in San Francisco before the war. Nisei owned 56 of these...At present there are 150, and Nisei own 58. In all these businesses, neighborhood patronage is more important than

special trade, with the exception of a few stores that deal in Japanese food products." /11

As employees, the Japanese in San Francisco generally follow the pattern noted elsewhere, except that a much higher proportion are in domestic service. It is estimated that as many as 1,500 are employed as either full or part time domestics, or about as many as before the war. The wartime lack of domestic workers has created a strong demand, which, with the increased rate of pay has attracted a large proportion of the employables among the Issei, both men and women. A number of Nisei girls working in offices have also taken part time work of this kind in return for lodging.

In San Francisco, as elsewhere, other employment is found primarily in the wider community. About 700 persons, equally divided between office and factory workers are found outside the domestic field. By far the largest employer of Japanese Americans is the Simmons Mattress Company which has 150. The remainder in the manufacturing field is scattered throughout the city. Between them, Federal, State, and City Civil Service employ about 90 Nisei. The remainder of the white collar workers are girls working as secretaries or stenographers in private firms. White collar jobs have been primarily open to girls, and with the exception of civil service jobs, employment in this field has been difficult for men.

Early in 1947 it was noted that Japanese Americans were having greater difficulty in securing employment. As nearly as can be determined, this has been the result of a general loosening of the labor market in the city rather than from any specific objection to employment of Japanese Americans.

Adjustment in Seattle.* The historic migration of the Japanese to the west coast and five decades of slow development evolved in Seattle a stable community of about 7,000 persons. As in other sections of the military area, this population suffered a major dislocation with its

*Note: This section concerning economic adjustment in Seattle was prepared by S. Frank Miyamoto and Robert W. O'Brien of the University of Washington. As mentioned in the foreword of this report, their findings are based on a random sample of the Japanese American population in Seattle. A note on the methods used in selecting and enumerating this sample will be found in Appendix A, which provides additional material concerning the composition of the Japanese American population of that city.

evacuation in the spring of 1942. By the late winter of 1947, approximately 4,700 were again in residence in Seattle, but of these, slightly more than 600 had lived elsewhere before the evacuation. As noted in the introductory chapter, the age distribution now corresponds closely to that of all persons of Japanese descent in the United States, with a high concentration among those above 50 and among those between the ages of 20 and 30.

The community is located roughly in the same districts as before the war, but there have been some minor shifts mainly due to the housing shortage and the displacement from former residences caused by considerable increase of the Negro population. Population concentration is, in some respects, more marked today than before. Due to the housing shortage and high rentals, there has been some tendency toward doubling-up of families in smaller dwelling units and of congregating in a number of multiple dwelling units. At the same time, the housing shortage has functioned toward dispersal, as home buyers have had to extend their search for desirable vacancies into areas which members of the Japanese minority did not previously occupy.

Business locations on lower Jackson and Main Streets which were taken over mostly by the Negroes during the war gradually returned to the hands of the Japanese, and the center of the small Japanese business district is again at Sixth Avenue South and Main Street. The residential area is scattered widely in all directions from this point.

The picture of the economic status of the Seattle Japanese community is essentially an ambiguous one. On the one hand there is evidence that the community has rebounded from the economic dislocation of the evacuation with surprising resilience, and that economic conditions among the population are remarkably good considering the losses incurred during the war. Indeed, despite the high cost of living few families seem to be in serious want and many show signs of ease and affluence that were certainly not expected when the people were still in the centers. On the other hand, deeper analysis of the economic situation yields indications of a fundamental instability which could lead to considerable distress given certain turns in the general economy. These conditions of instability are to be traced to the changes resulting from the evacuation.

The labor force. The age groups from 15 to 65 are generally regarded as constituting the potentially employable population. The data on the age structure of the population indicate that a high percentage of the total population is in the employable age range, but it is to be noted that there is a concentration within this age range at 20 to 30 years as well as at 50 to 65 years. For its immediate needs, the Seattle Japanese population is relatively well favored in the ratio of the

number of employable persons to the total population, but this advantage is somewhat diminished by the concentration of the employable population at the ages where they are either just beginning, or ending, their employability.

In terms of the actual number that is gainfully employed, the percentage of the Seattle Japanese who are in the labor force is surprisingly close to the national figure. Assuming 60 millions in the total

Number and Percentage of Seattle Japanese Who Are
Gainfully Employed, Unemployed, or Otherwise
Occupied

Employment Status	:	Number	:	Percent
	:		:	
Gainfully employed	:	2030	:	43.2
Unemployed	:	464	:	10.0
Others (students, housewives, children, dependents, etc.)	:	2198	:	46.8
Total	:	4692	:	100.0
	:		:	

United States population of 140 millions as being gainfully occupied, about 43 percent of the nation's population are gainfully occupied, which corresponds closely with the percentage for the Seattle Japanese. It is in the large numbers of Seattle Japanese who are unemployed that a difference appears between their figures and those for the national population. Comparable percentages of unemployed for the national population would require 13 to 14 millions of unemployed in the total population, a condition that has existed only in the depth of a major depression. More will be said later of the unemployment situation in the local community. The notable fact to observe here is that while the Seattle Japanese have a potentially large labor force, the full possibilities of their employable population are not at present being realized.

The foregoing figures throw some light upon the frequently made observation that the community has shown a remarkable recuperative power considering the extent of their economic dislocation following evacuation. Less than two years ago when the evacuees were still in the centers in large numbers, they were viewing their "forced" relocation and return to Seattle with considerable pessimism, but in the short space of time since their return they have reestablished their employment status to an extent where they are as well off as the American population generally. This, to many in the community, has been a source of pleasant surprise as well as of optimism for the future. The instability in the circumstance, previously remarked upon, rests in the fact that the full potentiality of the working force is not being realized,

and that the unemployment figures reflect a failure on the part of a significant minority in the local Japanese American populace to make a satisfactory economic adjustment.

In comparing the present working force with that before the war, two facts of outstanding interest are (a) the number of Nisei who were previously still in school who are now employed, and, correspondingly, the number of Issei who were formerly employed who are now unemployed, dependents or pensioners, and (b) the comparatively large number of females who are now employed by contrast with prewar conditions.

Although tabulations of the labor force by age have not been made, the age distribution in the population is such that the employed Nisei are necessarily very young, being mostly around 20 to 30 years of age, while the Issei are necessarily quite old and close to an age where they can no longer be economically very active. To the extent that a large percentage of the employable Nisei are young, the working force must be seen to include many who are relatively inexperienced and who do not have the financial means to strike out independently. Lack of experience means not only a lack of an important qualification in getting and holding jobs, but it also has bearing upon the skill of an individual in getting a job, the amount of realism with which he views job opportunities, the confidence with which he launches upon new economic ventures, and the persistence with which he maintains himself at a job. There is a noticeable instability and ferment among the Nisei, a condition probably attributable in no small part to their inexperience.

Similarly the relatively advanced age of Issei workers has proved a decided disadvantage in their efforts to reestablish themselves economically. Not only are there fewer work opportunities open to people of this age class, but these limitations dispose the people toward a "defeatism" that weakens their efforts at rehabilitation. To be sure, a surprising amount of hope and vigor still remains among many Issei. It is the least independent members of the group who become affected by their misgivings and fears, who fail in overcoming their difficulties, and who give way to passive resignation as their final adjustment. Not a few of the unemployed or pensioned Issei are those still capable of pursuing occupational functions, but who have resigned themselves to a state of dependency rather than struggle against subjective inertia and the external odds.

The evidence suggests that it is the Issei without Nisei children who are the most subject to the weakening of their struggle. Family life and the presence of younger members seems to act like a tonic upon the morale of these older people. A vivid case of this point is offered in the instance of an Issei of 57 years, living with his wife (12 years his junior) in limited quarters at the Hunt Hostel, whose 17 year old son accidentally shot and killed himself while cleaning

a rifle. Externally this man gives every evidence of the physical vigor necessary for employment, but he complains of illness, has been unemployed since his son's death, and at present is uncertain of what he should do. He remarked:

"I worked as a gardener for eight months, but the work was too hard and I had to quit because of ill health. I operated the Rainier Dye Works for 23 years-- you remember it was on Jackson Street. I am not accustomed to heavy outdoor work, and gardening was too strenuous for me. I am uncertain now of what I should do. I'm too old to start something new all over again. When my son was alive, I had hoped that we might start some kind of business together. As long as he was alive, there was some reason for building for the future, but I'm too old now to do anything by myself. It took years to establish ourselves before.

"I believe there are a lot of opportunities for the Nisei in Japan. People say that Japan has been defeated and that one would only starve there, but the stories on that are contradictory, and, in any case, I reserve my judgment on the question. If the Nisei hope to seek a future in this country, their only chance lies in organizing. Their failure to realize this point is their weakness. They will always be discriminated against, and their status will always be poor unless they utilize their group strength." /12a

Although the Issei males no longer dominate the economy of the Japanese community as they did before the war, they still remain a potent factor in the labor force of the community. For instance, as shown below, there are more of them in the labor force, despite the

Number and Percent of Gainfully Occupied,
by Place of Birth, and Sex

	Number		Percent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Native Born	590	537	29.0	26.5
Foreign Born	605	298	30.0	14.5
Total	1195	835	59.0	41.0

fact that the Nisei males of employable age now actually out number them by a distinct margin. Among the latter, many are still in school and

hence are not contributing at present to family incomes. Moreover, the capital wealth of the population also still remains largely concentrated in the hands of the Issei to whom the Nisei are thus economically subordinated. When these facts are placed beside the consideration that the Issei men, because of their high median age, will soon disappear from the occupational fields, the full import of the transition in the economy of the community which is now under way may be appreciated. There can be no doubt that the Issei are still important in leadership and in contributing to the economic security of the community, but their leadership is steadily diminishing and they are becoming unemployables. The question arises as to how rapidly the Nisei can assimilate the new responsibilities, and fill in the gaps which necessarily will appear as the Issei retire from economic activity. Should a serious economic recession occur during the critical stages of this transition, it is possible that serious economic problems might appear in the community.

While no comparable figures of the amount of employment among Japanese American women before the war is available, it is exceedingly doubtful that anywhere near 40 percent of the labor force before the war were women. The most significant increase of women employees has occurred among the Nisei girls who before the war were still in school, or in any case had no such occupational opportunities as they now enjoy. Data will later be presented to show the nature of the increased opportunities now open to the Nisei women. Moreover, many Issei women who were not previously gainfully employed but now feel the need to contribute to depleted family savings or are no longer bound to their homes by adolescent children have taken employment since returning. Industrial opportunities, especially in the garment making industries, have greatly increased for this class of population, a condition which has abetted their employment seeking tendency.

Types of occupation. The findings with respect to the occupations in which the present population 15 years of age and over are found, follows the occupational breakdown of the United States Census classification. The distribution is striking for the fact of its contrast with the relative percentages of the majority group working population which would be found in the various occupational classes. Outstanding in such as comparison is the unusually high percentage of the Japanese American workers who are engaged as service workers (except domestic and protective) proprietors and managers, and clerical or kindred workers. On the other hand, there is a smaller percentage of the various classes of industrial workers, including the skilled, semi-skilled, and the unskilled, than in the general Seattle population. One other noteworthy point is the small number of domestic workers among the Japanese Americans in Seattle.

Types of Occupation of the Gainfully Employed Japanese
Americans in Seattle, 1947. (15 Years and Over)/12c

Type of Occupation	: Number	: Percent
Professional & Semi-professional	: 68	: 3.3
Proprietors, Managers & Officials	: 425	: 20.9
Clerical, Sale & Kindred Workers	: 381	: 18.8
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred Wkrs.	: 93	: 4.6
Operatives & Kindred Workers	: 214	: 10.5
Domestic Service	: 93	: 4.6
Protective Service Workers	: 44	: 2.2
Service except Domestic & Protective	: 477	: 23.5
Laborers	: 235	: 11.6
	:	:
Total	: 2030	: 100.0
	:	:

Were data for the Seattle Japanese workers before the war available, it is certain that comparison would show a notable increase in the percentage of those engaged in "Services except Domestic and Protective". This increase has been almost entirely due to the great numbers, especially of Issei men, who since returning to Seattle have found employment in building services as porters and janitors. Chief among the establishments which now hire the Japanese American building service workers are some of the best hotels in the city, and the hospitals, chiefly the Columbus and Providence which are Catholic institutions. The Catholics, particularly of the Maryknoll group, have been fairly active in arranging placements in their own enterprises for the returnees, and there is every reason to believe that the hiring at the Catholic hospitals was due principally to their effort, but the opening of positions at the downtown hotels, as well as in the building services union, is said to have been the product of WRA effort. However, the first openings were made, once placements in this work were started the activity was something of a "natural" for the returnees to enter. In late 1945 and early 1946, there was still considerable demand for this type of worker, and the hotels and hospitals were willing to take almost anybody who was willing to accept such work. The work requires little skill, and language difficulties constitute no handicap especially where the men work as teams. Local 7, the AF of L Building Services Union, was one of the few unions in the city which maintained no barriers to the entry of persons of Japanese ancestry. Into this field have thus been drawn Issei who in prewar days were engaged in widely diverse occupations; who frequently failed in their efforts to return to their old activities and reluctantly turned to porter and janitorial work as a means of livelihood.

In much the same way, large numbers of Nisei who were formerly engaged in other occupations have been attracted to the "clerical, sales, and kindred workers" activities. A certain number of these are the stock clerks and messengers employed by department stores and other retail shops in the downtown area. A far more impressive number, however, may be accounted for by those now employed by various Civil Service Agencies as file clerks, stock clerks, typists, stenographers, and other similar activities. Of the federal agencies, the Veteran's Administration is perhaps the heaviest employer of Japanese Americans, especially of those with veteran status, while the other federal employees are mostly concentrated in the few war agencies which are still operative.

Civil Service work was open to Nisei before the war as it is today, but there were scarcely more than a handful engaged in such work before the war. The reasons for the sudden increase of Nisei workers in this field are to be found in the increased number of such opportunities open to them during and following the war emergency. Girls who formerly had but limited opportunity to use secretarial and stenographic training were able to get office positions in the OPA, War Assets, Federal Housing, and the Navy Pier. Another source of Nisei civil service workers has been the returning veterans who, generally disappointed by the lack of opportunities in private industry, have taken advantage of their veteran's status to gain appointments particularly in the Veteran's Administration. Considering the relatively high average educational background of the Nisei which fits them for office work, the fact that federal agencies practice less employment discrimination than private enterprises, that desirable positions in private industry will probably tend to remain closed to Nisei, and that Nisei are now increasingly looking to federal agencies for white-collar jobs, the likelihood is that civil service positions will hereafter always be looked upon as an important source of employment among the Nisei.

Although it was previously remarked upon that the percentage of the Japanese minority engaged in the manufacturing industries is smaller than in the general Seattle population, even in this field there has been a notable increase that stands in contrast to the prewar situation. Two industries, the garment fabricators and the foundries, account for the majority of this increase. Before the war a fair number of women, mostly Issei, were employed by one glove making factory and a few sack companies, but the large numbers who are today working as power machine operators and pressers in the garment industry is a development since the war. A familiar sight in the early morning of a work day are the groups of Issei and some Nisei women standing at bus stop corners awaiting transportation to the factories most of which are located in the lower business district. A number of Issei men also have found work in this industry mainly as pressing machine operators, and not infrequently husband and wife work at the same place. As for the foundries, it is in

one shop, the Olympic, where some 40 Nisei are employed, that the majority of these workers are located.

By comparison with the huge masses in the majority group population who go to make up our industrial labor force such encroachment of the Seattle Japanese into the fabrication field seems indeed puny, but when it is remembered that there were scarcely any Japanese Americans in these fields before the war, the change must be regarded as significant. Apart from the particular factories mentioned, the Japanese minority workers are now present in small numbers in the shipbuilding industry, boiler works, and similar occupations in which the Japanese Americans were not previously engaged. Unlike the prewar circumstance where the industrial workers in the population were largely concentrated in the lumber mills and railroad section gangs in scattered parts of the Northwest, they are no longer as limited in industrial opportunities and may be found in semi-skilled or unskilled industrial activities which were previously closed to them. Seattle is mainly a commercial center and industrial opportunities will necessarily be quite limited, but there is nevertheless the observable trend that members of the Japanese minority are increasingly becoming a part of the manufacturing economy of the city.

In the long run, however, it will be the privately operated small enterprises which may be expected to dominate the economy of the Seattle Japanese. This was the case before the war; and the fact that 21 percent of the gainfully employed are now classed as "Proprietors, Managers and Officials" indicates that many are already back in this line of endeavor. It is now estimated that some two hundred hotels, apartment houses, and rooming houses are today owned and operated by returned Japanese, which is only a little short of the number listed by the Japanese Hotel Association before the war. Groceries and cleaners, which with the hotels constituted the three major types of enterprises, have been much slower in reestablishment, and the circumstances of this retarded development will require explanation later, but even here there are indications that Japanese American enterprisers will not long remain out of this field. Restaurants, serving both Japanese and American dishes, are again flourishing, and there is a remarkable outcropping of florists shops that may well give rise to concern among the Caucasian distributors of a "Jap inundation" of their field. One glance at the Northwest Times or the North American Post, the two local Japanese American news sheets, is sufficient to assure one of the wide variety of merchandise, professional service, and other service enterprises in which the people are entering.

Two types of enterprises need to be distinguished: (a) those which are aimed primarily for Japanese community patronage, and (b) those which are aimed primarily for non-Japanese patronage. This classification is, to be sure, inadequate in its failure to include the marginal

enterprises which are dependent on neither the Japanese nor non-Japanese customers alone for their sustenance, but the twofold classification has the advantage of pointing to the fact that the businessmen tend to form business policies in conformance with one type of customers and clientele or the other. By and large there is a direct correlation between the nearness to the center of the Japanese business district, at Sixth and Main Streets, and the degree of dependence on Japanese patronage; that is, the businesses most dependent on the Japanese are closest to Sixth and Main Street.

Before the war a considerable diffusion of hotels, groceries, dye works, and cleaners, produce houses, and markets, and, to a lesser degree, restaurants, had occurred, and Japanese operated business enterprises were becoming increasingly less dependent on their own community for their continued operation. Today, the situation is reversed, for the majority of the enterprises first established have presupposed Japanese community support, while the prewar cleaners and groceries which dotted scattered areas of the city are no longer as prominently present. This is understandable, for as the evacuees returned and settled principally in a belt on either side of Jackson Street, the most prominent economic need was for businesses which would serve their requirements. Moreover, business within the community entailed less risk than those which had to seek support from non-Japanese. Finally, favorable business locations have been far more readily available in the area where Japanese residences are most heavily concentrated, whereas in outlying areas they have been more difficult to get.

If there is a continued increase of Japanese Americans in private enterprises, however, the future expansion will undoubtedly be into the Caucasian communities. The number of enterprises which the Japanese community can support is now nearing satiation, and this is so despite the fact that the number of such enterprises is far less numerous than before the war. Not only is the population smaller today than before, but certain community needs which existed before have not been revived, and the businesses which served those needs likewise are not being revived.

This, then, is one of the major sources of the economic instability of the Japanese community which was noted in the prefatory statement. By contrast with prewar conditions, a large percentage of the gainfully employed in the Japanese community today are in the employ of Caucasian companies, and are engaged in semi-skilled or unskilled work which give the least assurance of security in the event of economic recessions. At the same time, the people have not yet reestablished themselves in private enterprises of the type which were able to survive even the depth of the last depression. Those who have reentered business are in large part limited to the narrow base of the Japanese community economy which at the moment is profitable but which in the long run will necessarily give evidence of its limitations.

Patterns of economic adjustment--finding employment. To the extent that the working population of the Seattle Japanese has stabilized itself at the jobs in which the people are now engaged, the following discussion is more of historical than of practical interest. However, there still remains a fair amount of job mobility, and it is noteworthy that the pattern of getting jobs developed in 1945 and 1946 tends to be the pattern employed by those who seek new positions.

When the local WRA office closed in May 1946, their file of office visitors' cards included over 2,300 names the bulk of which was derived from personal applications for jobs. As in every other resettlement center where a WRA office was located, the Seattle office was widely used by those returning to this section, and for the early returnees was the first point of contact generally sought out in beginning any search for employment. In line with the accepted policy, the WRA usually referred employment cases to the USES. Even as the people used these services, however, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the opportunities offered them by these agencies. The characteristic view of these agencies as a channel through which to gain employment was expressed by a non-college Nisei who said:

"I went down to the WRA, and they sent me down to the USES. I didn't care what kind of a job they gave me as long as it had a future in it, but all they had were domestic jobs or porter's positions and I wasn't interested in them. I asked about office jobs, and I knew they had jobs like that because the white guys were getting referrals like that, but they practically told me that I was wasting my time looking for an office position. They wanted to send me out on one of those porter's deals, but I told them I wasn't interested. I went back there a couple of times, but I quit going back because I knew it wasn't any use." /12d

Similarly, a Nisei college graduate who had majored in foreign trade and accounting related:

"I left my name down at the WRA office and told them I was looking for an accountant's position, or even a bookkeeping job, and they told me they'd let me know if anything turned up. I went back there once or twice, but they never had anything and I never heard from them. The USES was the same way. They did give me a couple of job referrals to bookkeeping positions, but both times the employer told me the job was already filled. I wasn't sure, but I felt that was their way of getting rid of me. I wasn't getting anywhere with the leads from the USES, so I tried following up the ads for bookkeepers and

accountants in the newspapers. I didn't have any luck with that, so I finally gave up and went to work as porter at the Olympic Hotel." /12e

Placements were made by the USES and the WRA of those who were willing to accept positions as porters, domestics, and garment factory workers, and the Issei especially profited from this assistance. But because most of those who have sought employment through the USES have not gained satisfaction, the agency is held in poor esteem as a means of finding jobs. The import of this is that members of the community regard the job finding function as thrown back upon themselves or upon those friends who have information about openings.

Occasionally one encounters a story of how an individual successfully opened a new place for himself. A Nisei now working at one of the bigger haberdashery stores in the main shopping district of Seattle gives the following account of the way in which he found his present position.

"No, I didn't get it through the WRA or anything. I heard they needed men there, so I just went in one day and asked for a job. At first they weren't sure they could use a Japanese because they had never employed one before. They took my application anyway, and said they'd let me know. I didn't expect anything to turn up, but one day the office called me up and said they'd try me out, so I started out as a shipping clerk.

"I guess my boss was a little uncertain at first as to whether I would work out, but now he's all for me. I get along all right there. I've had two raises since I started working.

"It isn't much of a job, but I like it all right. And there is a chance for advancement. You have a chance to learn a lot at a job like this. I think the boss talked to some people who hired Japanese before he took me on, and heard they were all right. That's how I got on." /12f

Those who do thus make openings for themselves in line toward the "go-getter" theory of getting employment, and explain the failure of the Nisei to have greater success in gaining employment from Caucasians in terms of their timidity in aggressively pursuing their interests. An older Nisei who succeeded in getting into the exclusive AF of L linotypists union and a position at the Seattle Times, one of the two major Seattle papers, expressed this view when he declared:

"The trouble with the Nisei is that they are afraid to speak up for themselves. You got to keep after them in order to get anywhere. Sure, these unions will give the Nisei the "brush-off" as long as the Nisei don't kick and that's an easy way to get rid of them. But as long as you prove to them that you're as good, and maybe better, than the next man, why, they're not going to turn you down. The trouble with the Nisei is that they haven't tried. But, hell, the Nisei have to get out there and sell themselves; there's no use just sitting back and crying about it just because the Caucasians don't hand you a job on a silver platter."/12g

But such success stories appear relatively infrequently, and the more common view is that even with aggressive effort the Nisei, except for the sheerest luck, is unlikely to meet with welcome from Caucasian employers. Even in the cases cited above, while the men succeeded in getting positions for themselves from Caucasian employers as a result of their initiative, there were limitations in their jobs. The stock clerk admitted that his wages weren't good, and the linotypist had only a part time job. Furthermore the latter was able to gain membership in the union mainly because of his membership in the linotypists' union in Milwaukee.

The more common view is that definite limitations exist in seeking employment from Caucasian employers, or through the unions which in Seattle are regarded as holding the key to a large proportion of the better jobs. Accounts like the following have gained some currency in the community and have given basis to the belief that the Nisei are confronted with overwhelming odds in finding jobs in the larger community. Describing his efforts to get a position as a welder, a Nisei related:

"I gave that up because I found I couldn't get anywhere with the welders. I went down to the Welders' Union and applied for a card, but they just absolutely ignored me. I caught on before long, and I decided it wasn't any use trying for a welder's job. There's another welders' union in town, but they're just a small outfit and have contracts with only a few minor companies. At least 99 percent of the welding work is handled by this other union, so I decided it wasn't any use."/12h

Compared with the East and the Midwest, Seattle is evidently a poorer place to seek the better types of employment under Caucasian employers. Except for those in civil service there are scarcely more than a half dozen men in office positions of Caucasian owned companies; and except for the Olympic Foundry and the garment factories, very few Japanese Americans were employed in Caucasian operated industries. One

reason for this condition is that the return of the Japanese Americans to this area was quite late in the war, at a time when wartime industries were being curtailed and opportunities were falling off. A second factor has been the ironclad control of the unions upon many of the most desirable positions in the community. But probably not the least important of the reasons is the persistence of the prewar tradition of this locality of regarding persons of oriental background as being different and therefore not suitable employees in Caucasian companies.

The existence of these barriers to many areas of employment in this city has led to the channelizing of the job hunt into a threefold direction. One outlet has been those fields such as the garment industry and civil service which are among the few that have been opened to the Japanese Americans by Caucasian employers. In addition, it is recognized that opportunities are available as porters, dishwashers, stock clerks, and messengers in Caucasian operated companies. A second area of employment is that offered by Japanese enterprisers as hotel workers, gardeners, restaurant helpers, and clerks in various shops. And a final outlet has been the possibility of opening one's own enterprise.

Because of the limitations of opportunity elsewhere, the desire to enter into private business is one of the major impulses in the community. The impulse has a basis in tradition for the desire to establish one's own shop was a characteristic motivation in those areas of Japan from which most of the Japanese immigrants were drawn. But of greater significance is the fact that private enterprise constitutes the readiest means by which the Japanese minority may avoid those restrictions of opportunity which result from racial discrimination when in the employment of Caucasians. At the same time, private business seems to offer the opportunities for advancement of personal interests which are denied them when they are in the employ of others.

The limitations of opportunity also help to explain a characteristic feature of job hunting practices among the Japanese minority. That tendency is the inclination to specialize in certain types of employment such as the operation of hotels, florist shops, groceries, and gardening contractorships, or in such work as porters, garment making, or foundry work. There were those who criticized the weaknesses of the prewar economy of the Japanese on the west coast, and pointed to the specialization of economic interests as one of the major reasons for this weakness. That specialization existed cannot be denied, but it should now be evident that this tendency of the Japanese minority to specialize in certain functions of the economy was not something that was so much voluntarily sought as it was involuntarily imposed on them. Because their opportunities are relatively narrow, when a line of activity suddenly opens which seems to offer a likelihood of profit, large sections of the Japanese community tend to become interested and to rush in before the best opportunities are taken up by others. The exceptional

numbers who are at present moving into the hotel and the florists businesses are to be explained, at least in part, in terms of the absence of alternative satisfactory functions into which the people might enter.

Income and job satisfaction. Since income is generally regarded as a personal matter not subject to questioning, the available information about the incomes of the people in the community is somewhat sketchy. However, it is possible to indicate the kind of wages which are being paid various categories of workers, especially in those lines in which Japanese Americans are concentrated, and thus to give some picture of the income situation.

Among the Issei, the major forms of employment in which they are engaged are work as porters, dishwashers, kitchen help, janitors, gardeners, cooks, maintenance men, pressers, seamstresses, sorters, and finishers, plus, of course, the management of private businesses. On the whole, the average rate of income for the Issei males is fairly uniform for all types of jobs, with the maximum rate somewhat less than \$200 a month. At the Olympic Hotel, for example, where there are an estimated 40 or 50 workers most of whom are Issei, porters and vegetable men are at present earning $92\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour. Since union conditions prevail, workers are restricted to a 40 hour week, and do not earn more than \$170 per month. Dishwashers, on the other hand, are earning only 85 cents an hour, but on a six-day week. In non-unionized institutions, such as at the Catholic hospitals, the hourly rate is less, but the working hours per week are longer, and the earnings come to about the same level. Somewhat more skilled workers, such as the pressers in the garment factories, may earn as much as a dollar an hour, and the same is true for the gardeners who are engaged in a more strenuous and seasonal type of job. These types of employment generally set the standard of expected wages among Issei who are employed by others, and it may therefore be said that most Issei have gross earnings amounting to about \$160 to \$170 a month.

Issei women are largely engaged as seamstresses and finishers in garment factories, chambermaids in hotels, and laundry women in hospitals. It is said that some power machine operators working on a piece rate basis make as much as eight to ten dollars per day, but this must surely be exceptional. Generally speaking, their earnings are less than that of the men, and few make in excess of \$150 a month. Nevertheless, compared to prewar circumstances in which most of the women who were working worked for family enterprises and had no regular wages, or worked for Japanese operated businesses and received extremely low wages, the income at present is regarded as munificent.

Nisei men regard themselves as receiving a fair wage if they get more than \$200 a month, and the majority of workers probably do not get

more than this amount. At the Olympic foundry, the largest shop in the city where some 40 Nisei and Kibei are at present working; the lowest wages start at about \$1.05 an hour, and rise at the upper limit to about \$1.32 an hour. Some of these workers, by supplementing with overtime pay, have been able to get as much as \$230 to \$250 a month, but the present decline of business has made itself felt with a corresponding decline of wages as the number of working hours is cut down. The fairly high turnover of workers that has been observed at this shop is indicative of some job dissatisfaction among the workers there, the discontent arising primarily from the strenuousness of the work, the comparatively better jobs which are allotted the Caucasian workers, and the feeling that this work has limitations of future opportunities.

A few veterans holding civil service positions as assistant accountants, accountant clerks, and technicians of all kinds, receive fair ratings, but these are among the better positions. Janitors, porters, dishwashers, bus boys, gardeners, stock clerks, and general factory workers make up the bulk of the remaining workers. The bulk of these latter workers probably earn between \$175 to \$225 a month, the latter amount being made by gardeners and general factory workers through putting in extra hours.

Nisei girls, on the other hand, especially those working as typists, stenographers, and office clerks are now making more than they ever did before. Rates between \$150 to \$185 are frequently reported. Large numbers of these girls are at present hired in various civil service positions, but there are in addition several who are employed by private businesses. Besides the office workers, however, there are those employed in garment factories, dress making shops, restaurants, hotels, and other unskilled work where the pay varies between the maximum received by office workers to considerably less.

On the whole, wages today for Japanese American employees are very much better than in the prewar years. It was not uncommon for many Nisei and Issei working for others, particularly under Japanese management, to receive no more than \$80 to \$90 per month, and persons getting as much as \$130 a month were frequently regarded as holding quite desirable positions. Data on employment and wages in 1930 according to the business census of the Seattle Japanese community shows for the foreign born men and women, average monthly wages of \$116.49 and \$67.40 respectively, and for the native born men and women, wages of \$87.09 and \$66.38 respectively.

*Frank Miyamoto, Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle, Table IV, p. 73. Some caution is necessary in accepting the figures of this table for the census was, evidently, not a complete enumeration of all residents working in Seattle, and, furthermore, income statistics are always subject to questioning. Nevertheless, from personal knowledge of the situation, it may be said that these figures seem to reflect with fidelity the economic conditions which prevailed at the time.

Even allowing for a general rise of wages during the decade following 1930, and taking account of the aging and increased maturity of the Nisei during that period which undoubtedly tended to increase their earning power, it is extremely doubtful that their average wages showed anything as much as a 50 percent increase beyond the 1930 figures.

What the above mentioned data do not show is the earnings of those in private business. Among the latter there undoubtedly were many with incomes going substantially beyond the figures cited, and while no figures are available of those engaged in such occupations, there were known to be hotel, grocery, dye work and cleaners, produce house, and restaurant operators who were able to make fair savings out of their profits. Even in the case of those operating marginal businesses, it was possible by dint of hard work, the assistance of family members and the maintenance of low living standards to eke out earnings which most Caucasian American families could not have achieved. It is understandable that there was in the Japanese community a push toward the acquisition of private enterprises. And it is understandable why this same push is evident in the community today, although the lack of a capital base in the case of a number of persons temporarily prevents further expansion along these lines.

As indicated previously, the percentage of the population engaged in private enterprise is today smaller than it was prior to the war. Percentage comparisons, however, do not fully indicate the nature of the difference between the present and the prewar situation, for many types of fairly lucrative and stable businesses which previously existed have not reappeared in comparable degree. Groceries, dye works and cleaners, restaurants, greenhouses, produce houses, and public market stands which flourished under Caucasian patronage have returned to these fields only in small numbers. This type of specialization appeared among the Japanese because the fields were open for entry by them and was profitable. The majority of the businesses which have reappeared in the community today represent the type which are principally dependent upon the Japanese community and the multi-racial population of the Jackson Street district, and neither their stability nor their profitableness probably can be compared with the prewar enterprises.

Nevertheless, in view of the limitations of opportunities for gaining the better paid white-collar positions and advancement, private enterprise still remains the best opportunity for Japanese Americans. It has been variously estimated that between 180 to 200 hotels are now owned and operated by Japanese Americans. A few of these are very large buildings (for Japanese) and are evaluated at as high as \$100,000 to \$200,000, most of such buildings being owned by a few quite wealthy individuals. The larger proportion, however, are third-class hotels located in the marginal areas of the business district. Among the reasons for the popularity of the hotel business is that this form of

enterprise requires relatively little experience, and provides both a home and employment for the owner-operator. Furthermore, if as in the years before the war the Japanese Americans again are engaged in the hotel and apartment house business as their major business outlet, this is because the hotel business has been accessible to them. As soon as other small shop businesses in the Caucasian trade area likewise open to them, it is certain that increasing numbers of Japanese Americans will be found in such activity.

Questions were asked in the survey regarding the incomes of the working population compared to prewar conditions.¹²¹ In response to the question, "How does your present income compare with pre-evacuation?" as to whether it was less, same or more than before, the following results were obtained:

	Nisei	Issei
Less.....	29	59
Same.....	19	13
More.....	52	28

It is significant that more than 50 percent of the Nisei replied that they earn more today than before, whereas the majority of the Issei regard their present income as being less than before. This is in accordance with expectations. Many Nisei answering these questions were in school prior to evacuation and any income they receive today would be more than that which was earned previously. On the other hand, large numbers of Issei answering that they earn less pointed to the fact that they operated private businesses previously from which the profits were considerably greater than their present earnings. And there were also those Issei whose advanced age had reduced their earning capacity. It should further be noted that answers to these questions (including those analyzed below) were frequently answered with reference to family income, especially in terms of the earnings of the family head, and if this fact were discounted, it is possible that the percentage of Nisei replying "less" would have been even smaller.

In view of the higher cost of living today, the further inquiry was made, "In relation to the cost of living, how does your present income compare with your pre-evacuation income?" The replies showed the percentages:

	Nisei	Issei
Less.....	56	69
Same.....	28	23
Better.....	16	8

Here again, the confusion between family and individual income raises doubts concerning the meaning of the findings. However, the data such as they are suggest that the people are not living as well as in prewar days, and that the evacuation probably had some effect in decreasing the relative earning power of the Japanese American population. Considering the present general concern about the high cost of living, it may be that these statistics only indicate a reflection of the reaction in the Japanese minority to the limitations of income which are felt by the populace at large. Even if this is the case, and the actual facts would show that the Japanese minority is not faring as badly as their answers would lead one to believe, the attitude nevertheless indicates a dissatisfaction among a majority of the population, especially among the Issei, regarding their present economic status. Interview material gives detailed evidence in support of this hypothesis, for there were ample indications particularly among the Issei that economic conditions appeared adverse to them.

In this connection, two other questions and answers are of importance in interpreting the previous data. The replies to the questions, "What do you think of your present position?" were:

	Nisei	Issei
Satisfactory....	82	71
Unsatisfactory..	18	29
Permanent.....	67	81
Temporary.....	33	19

The answers to these questions require some background. The answer, "Satisfactory," is not to be understood as indicating contentment of the workers with their jobs, but rather an absence of dissatisfaction of such an intensity as to cause the respondent to declare himself unsatisfied with his work. In other words, satisfaction was expressed only in more or less degree. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that more Issei felt their job to be unsatisfactory than did the Nisei. A further breakdown of the data shows that 34 percent of the male Issei declared their position to be "unsatisfactory", which is the highest percentage of any of the categories. This is, perhaps, to be expected, for it is the male Issei more than any other group which has suffered a decline of economic status, and it is they who therefore feel the strongest discontent over the opportunities now available to them.

When the additional information is available that the Issei more than the Nisei regard their present positions to be "permanent", the picture of the relative economic positions of the Issei and Nisei is made complete. Quite clearly, the Issei men are the most discontented with their present jobs, but they also see less possibility of changing

to something else. Not only have the Issei lost, in many cases, the superior economic status which they enjoyed before the war, but they also are now too old to consider seriously the possibility of moving on to better positions. The Nisei, on the other hand, are clearly thinking more in terms of improving their present position, and many who are employed by others are thinking in terms of getting into better types of employment or of entering into business on their own.

Job discrimination. Two additional questions which were put to those interviewed were: "Compare present job discrimination in Seattle with 1939 - 1941," and, "Compare present social discrimination in Seattle with 1939 - 1941." Regarding job discriminations, the answers were: 121

	Nisei	Issei
Less.....	28	20
Same.....	56	68
More.....	16	12

On the whole there was much indecision in answering this question primarily because most individuals felt their situation today not comparable with that before the war--as for example among those who operated private businesses in the Japanese community and had little occasion for economic contacts with the majority group--or that their experiences were too limited to permit of any general answer. It was particularly the individuals with specific personal experiences to relate concerning economic contacts with majority group members who had the more decisive replies to offer. This probably explains the fact that the Nisei show larger percentages in both the "less" and the "more" categories than the Issei, for the Issei have tended to seek economic self sufficiency within their own community structure much more than have the Nisei. The fact that the Nisei show a higher percentage of unfavorable answers than the Issei, then, tends to indicate a larger proportion of unfavorable personal experiences on their part, but the higher percentage of favorable answers among the Nisei also points to a more frequent experience of favorable situations.

Despite the necessity for qualifications of the kind indicated above in any analysis of the data on job discrimination, it can be said that while most members of the community see little difference in discrimination today as compared to before the war, there was generally a tendency to regard the present conditions as better than expected. Even among those who replied, "Same," there were many who indicated that they had never experienced job discrimination in Seattle and that their relations with the majority group had always been good. On the whole, it may be said that the community tends to regard economic discrimination

as being minimal, and that the situation today is, if anything, better than it was before.

Additional light on the matter of job discrimination is cast by analyzing the material on attitudes toward social discrimination. The percentages of the answers on this question were: /12i

	Nisei	Issei
Less.....	20	25
Same.....	76	71
More.....	4	4

It is of interest that a larger percentage of Issei regard social discrimination today as being less than before the war than do the Nisei. One hypothesis to explain this circumstance is that the Issei expected worse treatment following Japan's defeat than they received, and that they have received a much more favorable impression of the majority group because of this situation. A second hypothesis is that more Issei are in contact with Caucasians than before the war by virtue of the type of work in which they are now engaged, and contact has given rise to the feeling that social discrimination has decreased.

But the special point of interest in the present connection is the larger percentage of both the Issei and Nisei who declared that job discrimination has increased than that social discrimination has increased. In fact, the percentage of those who regard social discrimination as having increased is but a small part of the total population. This is perhaps indicative of the conditions of discrimination in Seattle, that it is primarily in opening job opportunities to Japanese Americans that the greatest amount of prejudice against them is expressed. Furthermore, the necessity of reestablishing themselves economically in the aftermath of evacuation has increased the number of instances in which the people might encounter job discrimination.

While the statistics seem to indicate that the people of the community look upon the present situation as an improvement over previous conditions, emphasis in interpretation of the data should be placed upon the large percentage in the modal class who regard the prewar and the present situation as essentially the same. What this means is that the economic discrimination in Seattle against Japanese Americans is not so serious as to prevent them from making a decent livelihood, as they did before the war. But just as there were ceilings of job opportunities for Issei and Nisei in Caucasian companies before the war, it is recognized that similar ceilings exist today. True, a few more jobs in Caucasian companies now exist that were not available previously, and this reflects itself in the fifth to a quarter of the population who see less discrimination in the present economic conditions.

Colorado. Denver. The Japanese American population of Denver, after a hectic period of mass movement back to the west coast following rescission of the exclusion order, has settled down to more normal, if somewhat restless living. From the sleepy little Japanese community of 323 in 1940, the population increased to a high of 5,000 in late 1945, then dropped to approximately 3,000 by mid 1946. 1940/13, 1945/1, 1946/14

During the early war period, Denver was the "Mecca" for evacuees not desiring to go further eastward, as well as a stop-over for those who eventually continued their journey. Among the early comers were many who left the coast before the Army's freeze order, and who missed living in an assembly or relocation center. To many evacuees, Denver came to be considered the "Unofficial Japanese capital of the United States", a reputation formerly held by Los Angeles.

Growth of population in Denver was paralleled by a trebling of the number of Japanese on the farms of Colorado, from the prewar figure of about 2,300 to between 6,000 and 7,000. The experience of the Japanese in Colorado agriculture has been discussed earlier. Growth of the rural population developed a demand for service which contributed greatly to the development of new Japanese enterprise in Denver.

But Denver's preeminence was short lived. The main movement of evacuees was towards Chicago; and after the lifting of the exclusion from the west coast for a short period between December 1945 and March 1946 when WRA travel aid was cut off, the exodus to the West from the Rocky Mountain capital was as rapid as its abnormal growth.

Business opportunities were numerous because of the mushrooming Japanese population and the number of businesses increased from 46 in 1940 to 258 in 1946, including 45 different kinds of enterprise. Forty-four percent of the total were in five types of business: apartments and hotels, manufacturers and distributors of foodstuffs, grocery stores, fruit and vegetable markets, and restaurants. In 1940, the 46 establishments, then in existence, were divided almost equally among 17 types of enterprise except that 11 restaurants far outnumbered any other kind.

Most of these businesses are located in Larimer district within an area of five blocks, not far from the skid row concentration of taverns, pawn shops, second hand clothing stores, cheap hotels, and missions. It is an area of physical and social deterioration. About 10 percent of the Japanese business establishments are located in the better business and residential sections of the city.

The Larimer district has had a colorful history. Many decades ago, the city hall was located on the corner of 14th and Larimer. Larimer Street, including the present Japanese district, was then the flourishing center of Denver. Windsor Hotel, located at 18th and Larimer and

recently condemned by the city as a fire hazard, was the home of multi-millionaire H. A. Tabor, the "silver king" and one of Colorado's most colorful and influential men at the turn of the century. As the city grew, the central business district moved southeastward, and gradually Larimer Street became the deteriorated district it is today. /15

The coming of the Japanese has spruced up the area materially. Shops taken over by the Japanese have been remodeled, painted, and decorated to make them attractive. The Doi Pharmacy, located at the corner of Larimer and 22nd Streets, for example, is located in what had been an unattractive empty warehouse, the first floor of which has been refurnished and made inviting. Likewise, the Silver Dollar Hotel, once a deteriorated rooming house of widespread but dubious reputation has been remodeled and airconditioning installed.

The concentration of most of the Japanese stores along Larimer Street resulted directly from official pressure to prevent Japanese Americans from locating elsewhere in the city. This policy was generally but not universally successful. In 1943, during the height of the anti-Japanese campaign conducted by the Denver Post, a Nisei, with the backing of the Council for Civic Unity, refused to accept denial of a license to operate a grocery store in a restricted area. Not having legal grounds for discrimination, the Police Department eventually issued the necessary license. Pressure, however, did not subside, parking and health codes were zealously enforced. In time the situation eased, and it can be reported that the store is now a going concern.

As noted, apartments and hotels are the most numerous type of enterprise. There were 46 such establishments designed to give temporary and permanent shelter to the relocatees. Many went into the hotel business as a means of solving their personal housing problems as well as to provide income. Unlike Los Angeles, Portland, or Seattle, nearly all of the Japanese operated hotels and apartments had an all Japanese clientele.

Manufacturers and distributors of Japanese food products are next in number with 35. Most of these sprang up after evacuation when Japanese sources were out off, and similar processing plants on the west coast had been shut down. The demand for delicacies to be sold in the cooperative stores of the relocation center, in Hawaii as well as among the relocated people in the East and Midwest was great. Denver became the center for processing Japanese style foods in the United States. With relocation centers closed by the end of 1945, this source of trade ended, but goods continued to be shipped to Japanese stores in the various west coast localities as well as to the East.

Japanese food factories turn out bean sprouts, noodles, processed sea weed, fish cake, soy bean cake, shoyu, various kinds of pickled food

stuffs, packaged dehydrated food, soy bean food products, various bottled preserves, rice cakes and other Japanese style sweets, and Japanese wine (sake). Most of the products turned out by the food factories are handled by Japanese wholesale distributors, although some bypass the wholesalers and sell directly to retailers.

As west coast production of these commodities and eventual trade with Japan is resumed, it is expected that this flourishing business will decline in Denver. As one of the principal processors candidly admitted:

"We can't compete with Japan produced food. We do the best we can, but our stuff just isn't as good, and when imports come in from Japan, people won't buy our products." /1

With a wary eye on this development, not a few businessmen were seriously considering a move to the west coast if many more Japanese move out of Denver, for many felt as did one of their number:

"Most of the Japanese in Denver are dependent on the Japanese community in the way of trade, one way or another, for their livelihood." /1

He had also touched on the fact that in Denver a greater proportion of the Japanese American people are dependent on the Japanese community for livelihood than in any other section of the United States, not excepting the centers of Japanese population along the west coast.

The unpredictability of the future Japanese community in Denver has caused many businessmen to equip themselves to meet the needs of the wider community. They have made improvements and are seeking to expand their trade. Some have already achieved success along this line and their businesses will become less and less dependent upon the Japanese community. Two fish markets, doing a land office Caucasian business on Friday, cater largely to Japanese on other days. In general, cleaners and launderers, auto service, barbers and beauticians, jewelers, photographers, and radio services are following this trend. Professionals have also widened their horizons. But the manufacturers and distributors of Japanese foodstuff can do very little, except to wait for the stabilizing of the Japanese population.

Most of these other types of business cater to a mixed clientele, which may include Mexicans, Japanese, Caucasians, and a few Negroes. Thus, most of the cleaners and launderers located along Larimer Street have a mixed business; some cater predominantly to non-Japanese. The same is true of the auto service plants, one of which deals primarily with Mexicans and Negroes. Four of the five photographic studios have mixed clientele, while one which is located outside the Larimer district

has an almost exclusive trade with Caucasians. Two of the five beauty shops are located in the better business district and have about half Japanese and half Caucasian trade. Two of the four pool halls cater exclusively to Japanese, one mainly to Issei and the other to Kibei. The remaining two have a mixed Nisei-Mexican trade with a few Negroes.

The professionals among the Japanese Americans likewise have a mixed business. An elderly Issei dentist, a native of Denver whose office is located in the heart of the Larimer district, has a large and exclusively Japanese clientele. Another dentist, a young Nisei leader also a native of Denver, has a flourishing business among Caucasians in an office located away from the Larimer district. The two Nisei lawyers have almost exclusively a Japanese trade.

Although some businesses are predominantly supported by the Japanese population and would like to move with it, they are forced to stay. Considerable sums of money have been invested and need to be recovered before moving. In the course of the next few years, many of these will probably be so firmly rooted in the Denver economy that there will be little thought given to moving. The crucial test that Japanese business will have to face, sooner or later, is the question of type of clientele. Those business enterprises which have an increasingly large proportion of non-Japanese trade will have a better chance of survival than those which mainly cater to Japanese.

The following list indicates the number and range of Japanese American enterprises operating in Denver in the fall of 1946: 16

<u>Types of business</u>		<u>Types of business</u>	
Apartments.....	21	Laundries.....	7
Auto Service.....	9	Mail Order Stores, (Japanese	
Beauty Shops.....	5	food).....	2
Book Store.....	1	Manufacturers and wholesale	
Cleaners.....	11	food distributors.....	35
Drug Stores.....	2	Miscellaneous.....	1
Employment Office.....	1	Movie Theater.....	1
Express Company.....	1	Newspapers, Japanese.....	2
Fish Markets.....	2	Nurseries (potted plants).....	2
Florist Shops.....	2	Photographic Studios.....	5
Fruit & Vegetable Markets.....	5	Physical Culture Gymnasium....	1
Gift Shop.....	1	Piano Studios.....	2
Grocery Stores.....	19	Pool Halls.....	4
Hardware Stores.....	3	Radio Service.....	4
Hotels.....	25	Restaurants.....	20
House Cleaning.....	2	Seed Distributors.....	2
Insurance Agents.....	9	Service Bureaus (employment)..	3
Jewelry Stores.....	6	Sewing Schools.....	3

Types of business

Shoe Shops.....	2
Sign Shop.....	1
Storage Company.....	1
Sweet Shops (Japanese style)...	2

Professional Occupations

Physicians and Surgeons.....	5
Dentists.....	6
Lawyers.....	2
Music Instructors.....	2

Personal Services Occupations

Barbers.....	6
Masseurs.....	2

Skilled Occupations

Dressmakers.....	3
Tailor.....	1
Carpenters & Paperhangers.....	5

The wage earners in Denver were among the first to take advantage of free transportation to the west coast, provided by WRA after rescission of exclusion. Incentives to stay in Denver were not strong since few had roots firmly tying them to the Rocky Mountain city. Wages in Denver were considered low for most jobs. A waiter noted that "wages are cheap here...I am supposed to be getting pretty good wages. I make \$25.00 a week plus tips..." The seasonal nature of produce shipping work, which during the war peak employed over 500, caused many to return to the coast when the WRA offer of transportation came during the slack season when they were temporarily employed in restaurants and hotels.

Therefore, aside from the self employed and the professionals, the general run of the Nisei wage earner shifted from one job to another over a relatively short period of time. The general attitude of many was expressed by a 20 year old Nisei who stated that, "Well, you can always go to the Yamato Service Bureau where they have a list of jobs available."

As viewed by the Analyst assigned to Denver, approximately 1,300 of 2,200 employables out of the total Japanese population of 3,000 were directly dependent on Japanese business for employment. Another 600 were found to be in the employ of Caucasian firms while the rest were either unemployed or students. The largest numbers were employed in the produce shipping companies, garment factories, and as domestics.

Work at the produce sheds consisted mainly of packing vegetables and loading railroad cars for shipment out of the state. The skill required is negligible and pay averaged between 75 cents and 80 cents an hour. The regular work week consists of about 48 hours, but during the height of the harvest season hours are longer and time-and-a-half is paid. Weekly earnings average about \$38 without overtime, may reach \$50 to \$60 during rush periods. The work is seasonal, beginning in June and ending in November. Nisei girls who are employed by these firms are usually stenographers or clerks. The work is considered stop-gap by most Nisei and turn-over is large.

There is a wide range in other types of employment. A toy manufacturer employs five Nisei boys. A leading department store hired six Nisei girls in its dress alteration department. A number of Issei men and women have been working in leading hotels as stockroom clerk, janitor, dishwasher, cook, or chambermaid. Additional Issei and Nisei men are working in Caucasian restaurants as cooks, dishwashers, or bus boys. A few Nisei girls are working as waitresses in non-Japanese restaurants. One is the head waitress in a leading Chinese restaurant. One young Nisei has been working as an X-Ray technician at one of the larger hospitals. A youthful Issei photographer is working at one of the leading Caucasian photo studios. A Nisei war veteran, who lost an arm in Italy, worked for several months as an election clerk. Two Nisei are on the staff of the Denver Post.

Very few had jobs paying more than \$200 a month with the average being between \$30 and \$35 a week. It must be considered, however, that while wages were low, living costs were also in line with the low wages. The number of workers is swelled somewhat during the winter months, when many idle farmers and farm laborers come to Denver.

Aside from independent businessmen and professionals, very few Nisei have been able to secure good jobs with better Caucasian firms. However, those with ability and experience have managed, as experienced by a Nisei who is working as bookkeeper for the Brown Palace Hotel. A girl working for the state government felt that, "those who are capable and who look for a job he or she likes can find it."

It is undoubtedly true that the higher wage and salary scales of cities further east has drawn off the better trained individuals and the absence of Nisei in responsible and well paid work can be attributed more to this factor than to the degree of acceptance in Denver.

The manager of the Nisei employment bureau felt that, "the owner or managers of the big firms were not prejudiced against the Japanese but refuse to hire them mainly because their Caucasian employees, who are unionized in some firms, prefer not to work alongside the Japanese." Such practices, however, have been broken in some cases. A 28 year old girl who works as a cutter in a tailoring firm stated that:

"At first, some of the employees objected to having Nisei working with them, but the employer refused to discharge her...One of the strongly prejudiced Caucasians left to serve in the Army...this fellow visited Japan and became fond of the Japanese people. Upon his discharge and return to his old job, his whole attitude changed from one of hostility to one of friendliness."/1

A number work for the state or federal governments. A member of the State Civil Service Commission reported that "there is not a single case of a Japanese American who took the exam and passed who was not placed in some State job. I think we have five right now." /1 A Nisei bacteriologist in the employ of the State remarked that, "I think that whether a Nisei can get a civil service job depends on the individual." /1

Employment possibilities in Denver will no doubt improve if qualified Nisei are available to apply for positions. However, in view of the low pay scale and general movement of the population away from this city, fewer and fewer with skills to offer may be expected to remain.

Because of the large scale post exclusion movement away from Denver, the resulting uncertainty concerning business prospects, and the relatively low wage scale, the Japanese Americans in Denver are more uncertain of continued residence and more likely to return to the west coast than those located in any other city, with the possible exception of Salt Lake City. Hardly a week goes by without farewell parties for individuals and families returning.

The uncertainty is well illustrated by the expression of a Nisei garage owner, especially since within six months of the time the statement was taken, he was back in California:

"I can't leave now. I've sunk a lot of money in my business (motor service) and I got to stick around here for a while. Actually I'm stuck here.

"But I can't see why the Japanese are all flocking back to California. They can't find a place to live, prices are high, they can't find good jobs. I think they are foolish to go back now.

"You know my brother who is in service and now in Japan wrote me whether he should ask for a discharge as he is eligible now. I wrote him and told him, 'Don't get out of the Army now. Reenlist for several more years. Things are bad now.' Heck, if he stays in the Army for 15 more years he can retire at about 40 and get a pension. If he gets out now what will he do? He'll probably be picking tomatoes or potatoes." /1

The conclusions of the owner of the Doi Pharmacy are similar but represent what appears to be a more lasting judgment:

"I don't want to return to California. Prospects are much better out here. Why out in Sacramento there are about a dozen Nisei Pharmacists. There are not very many out

here. I can't see how some of these Nisei and Issei are going back there. Most of them have nothing to go back to. Sure, deep down in my heart I am dying to go back there, but when I think of business opportunities, I think Denver or the East is much better." /1

The situation of a Nisei stenographer is fairly typical:

"All my friends are back in California. None of them are here. Friends of my folks are all back there also. Gee, I sure would like to go back. I know my mother wants to go back, but I don't know what will happen." /1

Comment of the interviewer is equally pertinent:

"Because the family bought a house in Denver just a year ago, it doesn't seem probable that they will leave in the next year or two. They have no property to go back to."

The prediction of the analyst assigned to the study of the Denver situation is that within two years a third of the Japanese Americans now living there will have returned to the west coast, that a third will remain permanently, and that the chances that the remainder will stay are about equal to the chances that they will return.

Notes on smaller Colorado cities and towns. With few exceptions, the Japanese Americans living in rural Colorado are directly engaged in farming. For the most part, the rural people go to Denver to meet recreational needs, or to procure Japanese type foods. The fact that a number of small but successful enterprises have been established indicates that economic rather than considerations of public sentiment have held back the development of Japanese operated business in rural Colorado.

In 1943 Tom O. left the Poston Relocation Center to resettle in Rocky Ford, where he established a service station after a year as a farm laborer. At Poston he was in charge of the automobile service section and supervised a number of mechanics. In telling of his decision to leave camp, he stated:

"I trained a lot of Nisei auto mechanics who left for the East and got good paying jobs. When I learned that they, who I had personally trained, were making over \$100 a week in Chicago and elsewhere in the East, I felt I should not stick around camp. I decided to go out and make myself some money too." /1

In Rocky Ford he has developed an attractive service station and has four young Spanish Americans working for him. His trade is about equally divided among Japanese, Mexicans, and Caucasians. He has been made a member of the Rocky Ford Chamber of Commerce, a fact which provides a good measure of his acceptance in the community.

Near Rocky Ford, in the town of Swink, Colorado, an Issei businessman has established a successful manufacturing business. Harry T. is a college graduate with a major in agricultural chemistry. Before the war he lived in Pasadena and worked as a chemical analyst for the California State Division of Agriculture, also operating an insecticide and fertilizer business on the side. In 1942 he was sent to the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, from which in 1944 he left for Swink. His present operations include the processing of fertilizers and insecticides, the manufacture of shoyu sauce, and in addition he has part time work with the Colorado State Division of Agriculture as a chemical analyst. His sales are to both Japanese and Caucasian farmers, mainly in the state, although he does ship to points as far away as Illinois. He expressed himself as dissatisfied with his present scope of operations, and hopes eventually to establish similar plants in Texas, Florida, Illinois, and along the west coast.

He had a good deal to say about business prospects of the Issei and Nisei:

"You Nisei (speaking to the interviewer) just forget the Issei. Throw him away. He's no good anymore. He's too old now. His ideas are too old fashioned. Issei are too jealous of each other. They never can work together.

"I like to see you young Nisei go ahead in business. Don't be afraid. If you think that a certain business is good, go ahead, start in the business. You can talk English. You know how to get along with the Caucasians. Don't be afraid. When I started in business, I wasn't scared of anything, or anybody. I don't care if the Caucasians were in the same business. I started my own business anyway. You see, you first have to make good in business. Then you have power. You can do anything you want. I want to see the Nisei make good in America... Don't be afraid of discrimination. You can lick it if you make good in business..."1

Harry T. is unusual among Issei, both in his training and his viewpoint, but his experience and attitude does provide both a glimpse of the problems facing persons of Japanese descent and a successful example of an aggressive and determined effort to meet these problems without asking quarter.

Utah. The experience of evacuees in Utah is quite similar to that in Colorado. In 1940, persons of Japanese ancestry numbered 2,210 in the entire State of Utah. They supported a few stores, mostly dealing in groceries and a few restaurants, but most of the Japanese Americans were farmers. In the early spring of 1942, Salt Lake City was the first stop of many of the voluntary evacuees who left California before the Army freeze order was put into effect. Some resumed their journey toward the East, but many stopped off to settle on Utah farms or in Salt Lake City or Ogden. As movement began from the relocation centers, the voluntary evacuees were joined by others, eventually bringing the peak population of Japanese Americans in the state to nearly 10,000 persons. Of these about 3,500 at one time lived in Salt Lake City and 1,400 in Ogden. The remainder went into the rural areas, except for 300 or so who went to Helper and Price to work as laborers in the coal mines of that section. The discussion which follows will be limited to those who settled in these urban areas since a description of the economic adjustment of those in rural Utah has already been provided.

As with the rural resettlers, movement away from Ogden and Salt Lake City was rapid once the west coast was opened. Early in 1947 the population of Japanese descent in the latter city was estimated at about 1,800 with 600 remaining in Ogden. The total elsewhere in the state is estimated at about 2,000.^{/1} Many had been staying as close to the coast as they could find support, and promptly returned once they were permitted.

Ogden is the principal railway center of Utah and is noted as well for its fruit canneries and for manufacturing. The center of the Japanese American population is to be found between 23rd and 25th streets and between Washington and Wall Avenues, a section bordering one of the poorer districts of Ogden.

Discrimination in Ogden against persons of Japanese ancestry was pronounced during the war years. A number of attacks were made on Nisei on 25th Street and in cafes and pool halls during this period. The City Commissioners and the local AF of L unions were instrumental in keeping some Nisei from opening businesses, especially cafes. After the war, discrimination diminished and today is not a serious factor.

The economic position of the Japanese Americans during the war was relatively good. Jobs were to be had in industry and in cafes. Early in 1947 there were 56 establishments run by persons of Japanese descent in the city, about half by evacuees and half by residents of long standing. As the Japanese American population has decreased, trade has declined, and it is expected that about half of the evacuee business places will change hands in the next year or two, with the present operators returning to their old homes.

In the early days of relocation, there was an organized attempt on the part of some of the resident Japanese businessmen to keep the evacuees from going into business in Ogden. This movement was led by a prominent Issei and rested on the belief that too many persons of Japanese ancestry in business in Ogden would do harm to all concerned. Another factor involved that some of the evacuees were better off financially and the local people found competition difficult. As time went on, this feeling decreased and before the end of the war a fair degree of cooperation was established between the old time residents and the new comers. It is the general impression, however, that the older residents will not be sorry to see the evacuees go out of business in Ogden.

The most common types of labor open to both Issei and Nisei are dishwasher, cook, janitors, custodians, gardeners, railroad hands, waitress and truck driver. There have been very few "white-collar" or professional openings for Nisei or Issei in Ogden.

To Salt Lake City, the largest city of Utah, came the greatest number of evacuees to settle in this state. The relative instability of the Japanese American population elsewhere in Utah has been reflected here and movement toward the west coast is still in process. In February and March of 1947, for example, it is known that at least 100 persons left for their former homes in the west. It is estimated that if present trends continue, the total population of Japanese descent may eventually decline to between 1,200 and 1,000.

Early in 1947 a check of businesses operated by Japanese Americans showed the following: /1

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Number</u>
Bean Cake Factory.....	1
Beauty Parlors.....	2
Cafes.....	18
Candy Store.....	1
Dry Cleaners.....	9
Fish Market.....	1
Garages.....	2
Grocery Stores.....	5
Hotels.....	9
Jewelry Stores.....	2
Laundries.....	2
Pool Halls.....	3
Service Station.....	1
Total	<u>56</u>

Among professionals there were two dentists, three physicians, one eye specialist, and two insurance men.

All of these are located within the "Japanese section" of the city--between Main Street and South 3rd West, and West South Temple and 2nd South--with the exception of one garage, and the offices of a dentist and a doctor, both of whom have predominantly non-Japanese clientele.

The greater proportion of the Japanese Americans resident in Salt Lake City are employed by the Caucasian owned concerns of the city. A number are employed in the better hotels as cooks, waiters, chambermaids, janitors, and dishwashers. A number are employed by the railroads as section hands, and a few are working as miners or muckers. There are truck drivers, mechanics, and a small number of factory workers. Among the women a number are employed as secretaries and stenographers, seamstresses, and beauty operators. Very little "white-collar" employment has been available to the men, except for the professional people already mentioned and for a few who are with the University of Utah. At this institution Dr. Hashimoto, a nationally known authority on internal medicine, is Associate Professor of Anatomy, and Dr. Sugihara an instructor in chemistry. Others include a research assistant in Pharmacology, an instructor in Nursing Education, a library assistant, and six stenographers. Two Nisei women are teaching in the Public School system of Salt Lake City.

Discrimination in employment has been felt in Salt Lake City, especially during the war years, but has decreased rapidly over the past year. The recent repeal of the Utah Alien Land Law, which directly affected only the Japanese, provides positive evidence of improved relations with the community at large.

The economic status of the Japanese Americans in Salt Lake City is about average for the community although the hotel and cafe business has had a considerable drop within the past year, partly since few of these are among the first rate establishments of their kind and the exodus of transient laborers from industry and war installations has affected them directly, and partly because of the diminishing Japanese American population in the city. It is the belief of many Japanese American businessmen that it will be necessary for a number of their business establishments to close down later, especially those who now have a predominantly Japanese clientele.

Chicago and the Midwest. The Japanese American population of Chicago at the end of 1946, with 15,000 to 20,000 persons, very closely equals that of the rest of the country east of the Mississippi River, and exceeds that of any other American locality with the single exception of Los Angeles County. According to the United States census of 1940,

only 390 persons of Japanese descent were resident in Chicago during that year; thus, at least 97 percent of the present number of Japanese Americans in that city are evacuees.

When the War Relocation Authority first undertook to sponsor relocation, late in 1942, its Chicago office was one of the first to be opened. The vast industry of the city was booming, the demand for workers was great, and wages were as high as could be found anywhere. Its metropolitan atmosphere provided a cloak of indifference toward incoming evacuees whose recent detention in relocation centers had raised a feeling of racial inacceptability to a high point of tension. Chicago quickly became the primary center of relocation in the United States.

If overshadowed by Chicago in point of numbers, resettlement to such industrial centers as Cleveland and Detroit also proceeded steadily.* The smaller numbers going to these other cities resulted in less residential concentration, and in a negligible development of business enterprise; otherwise the experience of these new comers closely paralleled that of the Japanese Americans who went to Chicago. Thus material presented for Chicago is representative of Midwest experience generally.

In the latter city, it is estimated that out of the total evacuee population, there are approximately 12,000 employables. About one-sixth of these are in private business and professions, and five-sixths in the employ of some 2,000 different non-Japanese business and industrial concerns. In the other cities of the Midwest, nearly all are employed by outside concerns, again covering the entire range of business and industry. In Cincinnati, for example, where there were an estimated 350 resettlers in the fall of 1946, not more than eight or ten were in anyway dependent on Japanese employers. In Detroit, a noteworthy development during the war, which has continued to the present, was the employment of about 200 Nisei by the city civil service, from mechanics, bus drivers, street car conductors and motormen in the city owned transportation system, to stenographers, draftsmen, engineers, and dentists in other sections of the city establishment.

The numbers of relocated evacuees and their successful adjustment in Chicago served as a magnet to draw friends and relatives from other

*Figures provided by the WRA final report provided the following data on the numbers who went to Midwest cities other than Chicago. However, of subsequent departures, Japanese American population of these cities because of subsequent departures, Japanese American population of these cities has decreased from 25 to 50 percent from these listings. Iowa--Des Moines 378; Michigan--Ann Arbor 534, Detroit 1,649; Minnesota--Minneapolis 1,354, St. Paul 282; Missouri--Kansas City 346, St. Louis 469; Nebraska--Omaha 221; Ohio--Cincinnati 616, Cleveland 3,089; Wisconsin--Milwaukee 422.

Midwestern cities. Somewhat as with prewar Los Angeles, Chicago has become the recognized economic and social center of the Japanese Americans located in the Midwest. It is a place to go for weekends or longer vacations, as well as a possibility for permanent resettlement to those living in the lesser centers of population. Not a few single Nisei of marriageable age have left other points in the Midwest to relocate in Chicago where the larger number of Nisei provided a better opportunity for finding a mate.

During 1946 it was estimated that over a million dollars was invested in businesses in this city, bringing the total to a reputed \$2,500,000 in over 300 business enterprises. Home purchases have exceeded 400 and new businesses were reported to have been established at the rate of two or three per week throughout 1946.

The associate editor of the Chicago vernacular newspaper stated that, "as far as business and jobs are concerned, Chicago offers the best prospects for Nisei and Issei," and in comparing Los Angeles with Chicago, he continued, "in Chicago there is less discrimination and better prospects of going into private business."

Job problems which beset the early group of resettlers have largely disappeared and the majority of the Chicago group is occupationally well adjusted. Most of the workers at present feel fairly confident that they can compete successfully in the Chicago labor market.

The basic economic adjustment of the Midwest resettler group has been good, and gives every indication of remaining so for the immediate future. As compared with the prewar west coast distribution, an important occupational shift has taken place. In Chicago, the major occupational category is that of industrial work, a field in which the group had heretofore found little opportunity. Likewise, the level of white-collar employment in the Midwest has been raised to a degree never experienced before the war.

Even more significant in terms of long range adjustment is that the bulk of the resettler population is working in the larger economic community. This is true, not only for the thousands of industrial workers, but for all other occupational groups. Professional and businessmen are no longer dependent to the same extent upon the Japanese for their support as was the case before evacuation.

Work in industrial plants is the mainstay of Japanese American economic activity in Chicago. Factory work ranges from that of skilled machine operators to unskilled janitorial positions, but by far most of the workers fall in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations. For example, in the International Harvester plant which employs more than 250

Japanese Americans, most are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled machine operation.

The major printing plants are also large scale employers of Japanese Americans. Mechanics and automotive workers are to be found in hundreds in both large and small concerns. One young Nisei in speaking of employee-employer relations in the Yellow Cab Company, stated that: "we're taking it easy and average about \$65 a week on piecework. Treatment by the employer has been good, and the employer's attitude towards the Nisei is one of high praise." /1

The level of income of the large group of factory workers has dropped since the wartime high, but most are still averaging around \$55 for a 40 hour week. In many, if not most of the plants, overtime work still is found and even semi-skilled operators in the printing plants were making between \$70 and \$75 a week in the middle of 1946. There is some discontent among those who, during the war, had averaged \$100 to \$125 a week in defense plants; but almost without exception, the members of this skilled and semi-skilled group of factory workers are still making more money than they ever did before the war. Increases in the cost of living make comparison difficult, nevertheless, when pressed most of the group admit they are economically better off--both in net earnings and type of work than they were in the prewar west coast.

Although there has been some complaint on the part of Labor Union officials in Chicago that Nisei have not participated as fully as they were expected, many are members in good standing in the numerous unions organized in the industries in which they work. Since the war no friction has developed from this source.

The number of "white-collar" workers is close to 1,500, with the majority being girls working as stenographers, secretaries, clerks, and other office jobs as well as sales clerks. In speaking of further possibilities along this line, an employee of the USES in August 1946, stated that: "placing Nisei girls as stenographers and secretaries is still easy but the acceptance of Nisei men in the white-collar non-professional field has become more and more difficult." A variety of reasons are responsible for this. The average Nisei youth in Chicago is not apt to have stenographic or office training and the openings for men in this field tend to be in the bookkeeper or office manager categories. Aside from this, there is reluctance on the part of many firms to train Nisei boys as office managers where supervision over a Caucasian staff would eventually be required.

Domestic workers are relatively few, but if hotel and service workers are included in this category, the number employed runs close to 1,000. The large hotels in Chicago employed hundreds of resettlers during the war years, both Issei and Nisei, in work ranging from bus boys,

cooks and other service jobs, to stenographic and office work. As many as 300 Japanese Americans were at one time employed by one hotel. Other large hotels have had from 100 downwards on their payrolls ever since resettlement to Chicago began. While there has been considerable turnover, many of the employees are older Issei who have been working for over two years without a change. Wages for this type of work are fairly good, ranging from \$150 to \$200 per month for men and from \$125 to \$140 for women.

The Curtiss Candy Company is another concern which has hired a large number of Issei and Nisei. It is estimated that there are now about 175 working there. According to a Nisei personnel officer for that firm:

"Mostly Nisei girls work for the Curtiss Candy Company. They work as candy wrappers, candy fillers, etc.--This type of work is on piece work basis and you have to run and work fast to make money. The Issei women can't work quite so fast and they prefer jobs on a straight time basis. Most of the Issei men who work for Curtiss are on the farms or working as janitors." /1

Approximately 40 professional men have opened offices in Chicago since the beginning of resettlement. This figure includes eight doctors, six lawyers, eight dentists, and eight optometrists. If semi-professionals, such as photographers are added, the number is greatly increased. The number of employed professional and semi-professional workers, such as engineers, musicians, pharmacists, nurses, laboratory technicians, and artists is not known, but estimates conservatively place the total at several hundred.

The eight resettler doctors who have opened offices in Chicago are mostly young men who were just getting started before evacuation or who have received their M. D. degrees during the war years. Except for a few, as for an example, a diagnostician in an X-ray laboratory whose earnings are in the upper brackets, the physicians are finding their practice limited. They have, however, realized that a solid future for them in Chicago rests on eventually drawing their patients from outside the Japanese community, and a number have established their practice away from areas of concentrated Japanese population. Only one doctor has established himself in the heart of the Japanese community:

"Before I opened my office I looked around and picked out a spot that seemed to be the center of Japanese town. As far as the future goes, I know from a long range point of view it would have been better to open an office outside this area, but it would have been a long hard struggle, and this I didn't feel I could afford." /1

The optometrists, of whom there are eight, are like the physicians in that they are young; but unlike them, they have had a much easier time in getting established, and are enjoying much better financial status. The clientele is mixed with a greater proportion being non-Japanese. Several of the optometrists have gained city wide reputation and frequently are used as consultants by doctors and other optometrists in the city. Two are on the staff of the Monroe School for Optometry.

More than any other professional group, the lawyers depend on the Japanese for their livelihood. For example, a successful Nisei lawyer, who was well established on the west coast before the war, has as yet been able to draw only about 5 percent of his total business from outside the Japanese group. The experience of the young Nisei lawyer is not strikingly different than that of others with newly acquired legal training, except that so far, none have gone into established law firms.

A long time resident dentist of Chicago stated the lawyer's problem succinctly:

"For Nisei doctors and dentists, the opportunities are good, because you can build up a Caucasian clientele and there is a demand for doctors and dentists. But who is going to hire a young, inexperienced Nisei lawyer just out of law school...I wouldn't go to these young Nisei lawyers if I had need of a lawyer." /1

In the last three years over 300 Japanese operated business establishments have been started by resettlers in Chicago. One measure of success of these business establishments is seen in the rate at which the increase in number has taken place. Before January 1, 1944 there were only 75. Most were operated by Issei businessmen and the majority consisted of rooming houses, apartments, restaurants, and grocery stores. At this time new businesses were being started at the rate of two or three a week and continued to do so throughout 1945 and 1946. By December 1945 the number of Japanese operated businesses had reached a total of more than 200. By December 1946 it was estimated that there were over 300 Japanese businesses in operation.

The majority of these business establishments are owned or operated by Issei or by Issei in partnership with a Nisei son or daughter. The Nisei business establishments tend to be beauty shops, express and transfer companies, insurance, photographers, radio repair stores, toy packing service, garages, night clubs, and recreational establishments.

The great majority of the Japanese operated business establishments are to be found in areas where Japanese concentration has developed. On the north side, in the nine blocks between 600 and 1,500 North Clark Street are to be found 42 Japanese operated establishments, including

16 rooming and apartment houses, 12 restaurants, four groceries, two barber shops, two pool halls, a watchmaker, an insurance agent, a carpenter shop, a dry cleaner, a bar, and a bowling alley. A few professional men have located near this concentration. Similarly on the South Side, two sizeable business sections have sprung up and a smaller business community is found on the far North Side. 17

Most of the Japanese operated businesses have depended on Japanese trade to get started. This is particularly true of Japanese restaurants, food stores, recreation and pool halls, rooming houses, and apartments that cater to a Japanese clientele. The trend, however, is away from exclusive Japanese patronage, and most have Negro and Caucasian trade as well.

A young man operating a successful photographic studio reports that approximately three-fourths of his business is with Japanese and the other fourth with Caucasians. Concerning his relationship with the latter:

"Caucasians in this neighborhood don't seem to care that I am a Japanese. In fact, some of my Caucasian customers recommend me to their friends who often come to me. I haven't any trouble with them." 1

Besides his own studio, he has a contract with a nearby night club to take pictures of customers there. Although his fee to the club is steep, it has enabled him to pay off all his expenses and he is now comfortably situated. He was very proud of this contract, especially because the night club is "a very nice place, not just an ordinary one."

When asked about business prospects in Chicago as compared to the west coast, he stated:

"Oh, Chicago is definitely a better place for business. Here the people don't care whether you are Japanese or not, as they do on the west coast. There is better chance for advancement." 1

The great bulk of the Japanese operated business establishments were started with nominal investments. A few hotels and apartment investments have been made which run into amounts as high as \$50,000 to \$75,000, but these are relatively few. Most of the business investments, especially those for cafes, grocery stores, rooming houses, and the like, have been in the neighborhood of \$2,500 to \$5,000. Most of the smaller establishments are run by family labor, and a business ousertailment of fairly drastic proportions would have less effect than on rival shops where outside help is employed.

Actual income earned by these small business concerns is unknown, but even the most pessimistic of the business group will admit he is making money or as one informant put it, "begin to talk about the weather." The increase in the sale price of such establishments is another strong indication that they are money making propositions.

In December 1946 a partial list of business establishments was given in a Chicago Directory: /18

<u>Professionals</u>		<u>Types of Businesses</u>	
Architect.....	1	Gasoline Service Stations.....	1
Attorneys.....	6	Gift & Art Shops.....	10
Dental Laboratory.....	1	Grocery Stores.....	6
Dentists.....	10	Hotels, Apartment Houses, Room-	
Optometrists.....	8	ing & Boarding Houses.....	114
Osteopath.....	1	Jewelers.....	2
Physicians & Surgeons.....	8	Musicians.....	2
		Night Club.....	1
		Oriental Foods & Fish Markets.	10
<u>Types of Businesses</u>		Packers & Distributors.....	3
Artificial Flower Manufacture	1	Photographers.....	10
Barber Shops.....	3	Pool Halls.....	3
Beauty Shops.....	4	Printers & Publishers.....	4
Bowling Alleys & Recreation..	6	Radio Repair Shops.....	5
Chop Sueys & Japanese Cafes..	12	Real Estate Agents.....	7
Cleaners & Dyers.....	10	Refrigerator Repair.....	2
Dressmakers.....	2	Restaurants.....	18
Express & Transfer Companies.	3	Service Bureaus.....	3
Food Manufacturers.....	3	Toy Packing Service.....	3
		Watch Repair Shops.....	5

The following brief description of three families, one of which left for Chicago only when the imminent closing of the Granada Relocation Center forced a decision, will serve to provide a view of specific economic adjustment.

"The general impression gathered (by the interviewer) is that the family is very happily adjusted in Chicago. The father works as a shoe repairman at a big department store, and has been there for the past three years since leaving the Poston Relocation Center. Two girls work for the federal government, and the younger sister is attending the University of Illinois. A younger brother is in high school." /1

In another family, all of whose members are employed,

"The father, formerly an Imperial Valley farmer, works as a janitor in a major hotel, the mother works at a shop making radio parts, a daughter is employed as a seamstress, the oldest son, recently discharged from the Army, works as a civilian interpreter-translator in Kyoto, Japan, another brother, an ex-GI, works as a paint sprayer and the third son, also just discharged from the Army, is holding a temporary job pending matriculation in a west coast university."/1

Concerning the third family, the interviewer's report provides something of the social setting in addition to the description of economic adjustment:

"Henry S. is a young Nisei of 24 who with his dependent mother came to Chicago in the summer of 1945 to join an older married sister.

"The family, which before evacuation lived in Los Angeles, consisted of the father, mother, Henry, and two girls. The family operated a small grocery store but were barely able to make ends meet. Evacuation wiped out all but a small amount of the family's savings.

"The family was sent to the Granada Relocation Center. The married sister and her husband relocated to Chicago in 1944. The rest of the family, however, showed no interest in resettlement. While no definite plans were ever made, the father kept thinking in terms of opening a small grocery in Los Angeles after the war. To this particular family, life in the relocation center was not unduly unpleasant. The mother and father, who had worked long hours struggling to keep a small grocery store in operation, now regarded center life somewhat as a vacation. The younger sister was in high school, and since she was very popular, had a good time. Henry, who had graduated from high school the year before evacuation and had been working without pay in his father's store, also found a pleasant niche in the center, working as a timekeeper in the maintenance section. Because of a physical disability he was draft exempt.

"In 1945, however, the death of the father and the imminent closing of the center forced a resettlement decision. Since the family had no real plans, except a vague desire to return to Los Angeles to open a grocery,

Henry, now the nominal head of the family, was at a loss. He did not have the experience or the initiative to develop these plans.

"The decision was made by the eldest daughter, who was married and was living in Chicago. The family was to join her. Jobs were plentiful and Henry could get a job and help supplement family income. The elder sister found a large apartment and the family moved in with her. Since the mother was able to take care of the one grandchild, she took a factory job. Her husband, also a factory worker, helped Henry find a similar job. He makes 90 cents an hour, and late in 1946 was still working eight and ten hours overtime each week. His pay averaged about \$55 a week, which is far beyond what he could have expected before evacuation.

"The family has no property on the west coast and no family attachments there, except for the younger sister who had married and gone to live in the West. The elder sister, who continues to be the dominant member of the family, likes it in Chicago, and she and her husband have no plans to leave. The husband has a good job as a skilled machine operator and is convinced that he would not be able to continue in this line on the west coast.

"The mother likes Chicago since many of her friends are there. She enjoys the Buddhist Church activities and her role in the family is that of being in charge of the daughter's small child. Since she has always worked extremely hard, having had to care for her family in addition to the long hours in the family grocery store, her life is now much easier and more pleasant. Before the war she didn't have much time for church activities. Now she is an ardent church worker.

"The family has nothing to call them back to the west coast and has no plans for leaving Chicago." /1

Chicago, unlike Denver and Salt Lake City, did not experience a mass exodus following the lifting of the exclusion orders from the west coast. Although information is limited on the numbers who have returned or will return to the west coast eventually, the Japanese American residents of that city believe that the number leaving is about balanced by those who have retraced their steps from the west coast.

The experience of a number of those who have relocated in Chicago will illustrate the developing pattern--/1

M. is a newspaper man with extensive contacts with all sections of the Japanese American population in Chicago. As far as business and jobs are concerned, he felt strongly that Chicago offers the best prospects for both Issei and Nisei. He compared this city to Los Angeles where a number of Japanese have returned and are returning to menial jobs as gardeners, farm laborers, and the like. In Chicago he was sure that there is less discrimination and better prospects of going into private business.

As proof Issei, as well as Nisei, are going into all kinds of work and business, he pointed to advertisements in the Chicago Shimpo, a vernacular paper, which indicated that Issei were going into professional occupations, private businesses as owners of apartment and rooming houses, restaurants, grocery stores, and the like.

K. is working as a mechanic. During the war, his earnings ranged as high as \$100 a week, but with loss of overtime, have dropped to about \$65 now. He graduated from the University of California with a major in business and accounting just before the evacuation. He does not intend to continue as a mechanic for very much longer. He hopes to leave for Los Angeles, where he wants to open a business of some kind. His father, mother, and a married sister are in Los Angeles, and he wants to be near them. His father, who had been a farmer, is aging and cannot do much work and he feels it his responsibility to look after his parents. He will leave for Los Angeles as soon as the family can buy a house. He has little definite idea as to his future occupation, except that he wants it to be in some line of business.

He is the eldest son, and there appears to be strong family ties. His parents visited him in Chicago when they left the Rohwer Relocation Center in October of 1945, but they soon left for Los Angeles to live with the married sister. His statement, "I sent them (parents) out to LA" seems to confirm the fact that he has assumed command as family head.

Mr. Y. formerly a legal agent for a number of west coast business firms, made a survey of Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and a number of other cities for business prospects and as a place to live, before deciding, about the middle of 1945 to establish himself in Chicago. He went into the grocery business where he has been moderately successful. He is very certain that prospects in Chicago were much better than those on the west coast. He feels sure he will remain in Chicago for some time to come.

Mr. and Mrs. T., also Nisei, operate a small apartment house located on the near north side to supplement his income as a machinist. They are uncertain as to their future, but plan to remain in Chicago for two or three years before deciding definitely whether to stay or to leave for the West. They do not consider their present housing satisfactory, and unless housing can be bettered, this may be the decisive factor. Mrs. T. is particularly worried because of the lack of playground facilities for her seven year old girl.

Miss M. works as a stenographer. She lives with a Caucasian family where she does light housework in return for room and meals. She likes her job, and the family she is living with. She has little desire to return to California, and felt that Chicago is "just as nice a place to live as any other place." She will probably remain permanently in Chicago or some other eastern or midwestern city.

Miss H. also works as a stenographer. It is apparent that she is quite happy in Chicago and that she does not look forward to a return to farm life. The report concerning her indicates:

"She is of marriageable age, and therefore this is a consideration in her plans to remain here or not. In camp she was very shy and reserved, but now it seems that she has become more confident of herself, and is no longer afraid to meet and talk to people. From other sources, it was learned that she goes out on dates quite frequently. In camp she never went out on dates. She has a small circle of friends among Nisei and not very many Caucasian friends. She will probably remain in Chicago for a few years more, and possibly for an indefinite period."

Miss U. works as a medical secretary. Her family, parents and brothers and sisters are all in Chicago. A younger sister is studying to be a nurse in New York. Asked if her parents have decided to remain there permanently, she said they weren't sure but that at least they will stay until her sister finishes her nurse's training (about two years) and until her soldier brother returns from overseas, probably not for two years. If the family remains for this period, it is very likely they will continue to remain there for a number of years if not permanently.

The Y. family consists of Issei father and mother, a daughter and three sons, all between the ages of 20 and 30. The eldest son is now in Japan with the Army of Occupation, and the final decision concerning their future location is being deferred until he returns in about a year. All members of the family are employed, the father at a large hotel, the mother in a radio parts plant, the daughter as a seamstress,

one son as a paint sprayer, and the second at odd jobs pending enrollment in college. Together their income is close to \$1,000 per month. The fact that they are purchasing a home into which they expect to move shortly would seem to indicate that they will probably remain for several years. By the time the son returns from Japan, their economic ties in Chicago may be so strong as to preclude a move elsewhere.

Rev. M. is the assistant pastor of an established Baptist church in Chicago. He felt that there was a state of unsettledness among the Nisei and that it was still too early to form definite conclusions as to whether resettlers would remain in Chicago. Concerning the desirability of such a course, he had little question:

"I was back in Los Angeles only a few weeks ago on a vacation visit. People were living in trailers or anything they could find. Housing is terrible. Then after getting back to the west coast, what do the Nisei and Issei do? They get right back into the narrow restricted life that prevailed before the war. The west coast is no place for ambitious Nisei who want to keep on advancing. Why, out here the opportunities are unlimited. Take my own case for instance.

"If I were serving as a minister out in Los Angeles, where I was before the war, my sphere of contact would be only the Nisei, and a few Caucasian ministers and friends. Ever since I've been out here I have been asked by various schools and organizations to speak to their groups.

"My prewar world was just the narrow and restricted life I led. I was ignorant of things outside the west coast. It took the evacuation to shake us to the realization that America is much more than the west coast, that there are boundless opportunities if one only looked about the country. I feel my soul is free out here in the East." /1

Return to the Coast appears to hinge on employment possibilities more than any other factor. Although a few are restless like a Nisei doctor who stated that: "I enjoy my present job all right, but you can't beat California as a place to live..."; most would stay because as another Nisei remarked, "opportunities for employment are such as they have never been on the west coast."

In many respects the situation is similar to that of an immigrant who feels that he will return to his native country, once he has made a stake. However, with respect to the Nisei in Chicago, a Nisei journalist commented that, "the gap between this kind of talk and action widens with each passing month."

Notes on the East. Approximately 6,000 evacuees went to the eastern seaboard, principally to one of five places--Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Seabrook Farms near Bridgeton, New Jersey, and Washington, D. C. Of these, Boston received the fewest, less than 200. Movement to Philadelphia was slow but fairly steady, and eventually about 700 found their way to that city. Adjustment in both cities was without notable incident, although there was a proportionately high rate of movement from each when the west coast was reopened. Neither of these cities will be discussed in this section. Notes concerning the Seabrook development have already been presented in the chapter dealing with adjustment in agriculture.

Washington, D. C. Relocation to Washington, D. C. involved about 350 persons, and while the number was not so large as to some other eastern cities, relocation followed much the same pattern. However, unlike other eastern cities, Washington is not industrialized and offered employment primarily in one field, service with the Federal Government.

If it did not attract many of the business minded or unskilled Nisei, it did provide an unequalled opportunity for professional and skilled office employment. Linguists, economists, social scientists, and other professional men found places in the Office of War Information, the War Department, the Office of Strategic Service, the War Manpower Commission, the Federal Broadcast Intelligence Service, the Office of Price Administration, and the War Relocation Authority.

Prior to the war the Federal Government had employed a few Nisei, but it was not until 1943 and 1944 that any great number came into Government service. With the liquidation of many temporary war agencies, a considerable number of Nisei have been involved in reduction of force. Many of these, especially the stenographers and clerical workers, have qualified for employment in permanent agencies and have remained in Government service. Some, however, have left Washington for the West, while a few have opened business establishments or have taken private employment in the city.

Of special interest are the 21 grocery stores that have been opened in the Negro sections of the city. The man primarily responsible for development of these enterprises is Jesse Shima, a colorful Washington figure who once owned and sold a chain of restaurants in the New England and New York areas, operated a flying school in Alexandria, Virginia, owned an electrical appliance shop in the District, worked in the Department of Agriculture, and was the personal secretary of Mrs. Mary Foote Henderson, who was prominent as a hostess to the Capital's diplomatic set between 1924 and 1931. When the war broke out, Mr. Shima became a grocer because of restrictions placed on Issei. Since then he has assisted in the opening of all the new grocery establishments, and

in a recent meeting was elected President of the Capital Grocer's Association composed of the owners of the 21 stores.

There are three professionals--two dentists and an associate professor in Economics at the American University--outside the Federal Government. Of the first mentioned, one is a public health dentist working the District of Columbia; the other recently opened his own office and in addition, teaches in the Howard University School of Dentistry.

In private employment there are only a few. One Nisei works for the Washington Post, a former Seattle girl is in the Washington office of the United States News, another in a radio shop, and a few others are in the employ of various shops in the business section of the city.

New York City. Before the war, those living in New York City formed the only sizeable group of Japanese Americans living east of the Missouri River. For this reason, a short sketch of their prewar and early war experience will be given to provide comparison with present adjustment in the East and the Midwest.

According to the 1940 census, there were 2,087 Japanese living in New York City, with seven out of ten being Issei. At the outbreak of the war, a large number of Japanese merchants and their families repatriated and by mid-1942, there were 1,750 residents, including 650 Nisei and 1,100 Issei.

In a survey conducted in 1942, out of a sample of 700 Issei, it was found that the average age was 51 years, and their average period of residence in this country was 28 years. Despite their advanced age and long years of residence, about half the Issei men were unmarried, while among Issei women, only six percent were unmarried.

The survey listed 36 different types of occupation followed by these Issei. There were 137 cooks, 105 domestics, and 104 who owned their own businesses. These latter included retail stores, wholesale companies, art, gift and novelty shops, dental laboratories, professionals, but by far the largest number operated restaurants. The educational level of the Issei in New York City was relatively high, with at least half having secondary and college training.

Of the sample of 442 Nisei who reported to the Survey Committee, the average age was about 16 years; the male average was $17\frac{1}{2}$ and the female average was $14\frac{1}{2}$ years. Among the Nisei there were many who had migrated to New York from the Middle West, Pacific Coast, and the Territory of Hawaii, so that only about half were native New Yorkers or those who had come from other East Coast States.

The breakdown in occupational status among Nisei showed that 225 of the total were students. The remaining Nisei were either employed, available for employment or in their own business. At the time of the survey, about one in five of the latter group were unemployed. Thirty eight different occupations were represented, with the largest number of men employed as clerks and salesmen, and the largest group of women employed as stenographers./19

While New York attracted the ambitious and able Nisei, the number had not been great, and their residence in the city was still too recent for more than a few to have secured recognition. A writer relating his own experience in New York in 1938 revealed:

"There was T. John--of all the Nisei I knew in those early days, he was drawing the most pay--\$70 a month. Bill was a good commercial artist, but luck didn't smile on him. Herby used to draw \$8 a week working ten hours a day. Hit had jobs now and then. When he got a job he moved out of the church dormitory, and when he was broke, he moved back in.

"We celebrated with sugar buns when Renee got a couple of week's work at Macy's during the Christmas season. The church was a sad place in those days with so many jobless and all trying to exist on 25 cent dinner a day.

"Min and I finally landed a job at a restaurant as bus boys. We worked four hours a day at 25 cents an hour and one meal. Jimmy used to bunk with me when he was flat broke. He had no money to buy food, pay rent, or go anyplace. I used to bring home stale pieces of bread for him to eat, and which I munched for breakfast. One night a man gave me a nickel tip--man alive, how elated I felt--I choked up and couldn't thank him enough. Then business got slow and I was fired. The whole world seemed to cave in on me."/20

Concerning the present situation of the Japanese resettled in New York, he continued:

"...And looking at the present evacuees with their demands for high wages and their choice of job opportunities, I feel the Nisei have come a long ways in establishing themselves in this city."/16

In July 1945 it was estimated that approximately 3,000 had resettled in New York, of which about seven out of ten were Nisei./21 Since then, departures have been limited and the population has relatively

remained stable. Although no figure for Issei has been available, it was estimated in April 1947 that approximately 2,000 Nisei were living in New York City./22

The Issei have found employment mainly in commercial service occupations which include hotel, restaurant, hospital, and other service work such as that in laundries and dry cleaning establishments. Domestic employment has engaged the second largest number with skilled occupations following closely. Other sources of employment have been gardening or greenhouse work.

As for the male Nisei, the great majority are employed in nearly equal numbers in offices as salespeople, skilled workers, and in service occupations. Possibly ten percent of them work at unskilled labor, with an equal number in the professions.

Japanese American women are to be found as stenographers and clerks, with an almost equal number in skilled trades such as power machine operators in clothing factories, and as domestics. This is true of Issei as well as Nisei in proportion to the number of available workers.

There have been very few who have opened businesses. The fact that a great majority of the resettlers have been in the younger age group has limited the amount of capital available for this purpose.

New York City drew a select population from the centers. Because it was a great distance from pre-evacuation places of residence, the less energetic and the less secure Issei and Nisei tended not to go there. Moreover, competition at higher professional levels is severe, and this also kept away those with poorer training and the less experienced.

Concerning employment of Nisei, a columnist for the Pacific Citizen commented:

"Most everywhere you will find a Nisei; in places humble, and high as well. At the one extreme are the dishwashers and garment center workers who slave for \$30 or so a week. At the upper level are those select few professionals, rated tops in their field, commanding a thousand dollars or more a week for their service."/22

While recently unemployment among Japanese Americans in New York has been increasing, most have eventually managed to find other opportunities. In this respect, Nisei have shared the experience of the total community, with little evidence of discrimination. Although there has been some talk of returning to the west coast, as in Chicago and other midwestern cities, mass departure is not expected. While a few

have returned to the west coast, or have gone to other cities, others have moved in. The adjustment of the Nisei and his family in New York has been reasonably satisfactory.

In speaking of the return to California and the New York Nisei's adjustment, the columnist quoted above remarked:

"Here in upper Manhattan around 110th and Broadway, which a cluster of Nisei call home and fireside, the prevalent opinion is they plan to stay put. They like it here and plan to stay.

"You can't blame them. They have good jobs, a bank account, tidy, but tiny apartments, children in school, friends in the neighborhood, and the essential elements that constitute a full life." /22

A large number of the New York Nisei and Issei are thinking ultimately of resumption of trade with Japan. Two Nisei wholesale pearl merchants, as well as a Nisei import-export firm, have already become established.

In general, the two eastern cities, New York and Washington, have drawn a select group of Issei and Nisei. Of the two, however, New Yorkers appear to be a more stabilized group, looking to greater opportunities for advancement. In Washington there is a feeling of insecurity about future Government employment, and with opportunities outside of the grocery business still unexplored, the next few years may see a gradual exodus.

Nisei in Status Positions

In the numerous studies concerning the west coast Japanese population, made before the war, there was frequent comment concerning the general inability of well trained Nisei university graduates to secure employment in keeping with years spent in preparation. That a large proportion of such Nisei came into the employment market in time of depression, a fact that blurs accurate analysis of the extent of discrimination, has already been noted. A very few did find suitable employment outside the Japanese community, it was true, but most were forced back to work in import-export houses, in family business establishments, and on farms.

A thread running through the preceding pages of this report has been the increase of opportunity for "white-collar" employment following the relocation movement to the East, with a somewhat improved but still unfavorable white-collar employment situation in the West. The

following brief and unavoidably incomplete resume of the experience of some of those who have secured positions carrying status in the wider community is given to complete the discussion of economic adjustment.

A very specific example is found in the experience of Robert K. now a resident of Detroit. Having received a degree in electrical engineering from an outstanding California university about 1932 or 1933, his search for employment was unsuccessful and he finally returned to the family farm where he remained for six or seven years. Eventually he opened a small radio repair business in Los Angeles from which he was evacuated. Early in 1943, with his wife and three children, he left the relocation center to which he had been sent, and almost immediately secured a responsible position with the Federal Public Housing Authority in Saginaw, Michigan. When this work ran out in the summer of 1945, he had a choice of three comparable positions in private industry in Detroit. Subsequently drafted, upon his discharge from the Army, he returned to Detroit where he is now well employed.

In the field of teaching, more than in any other, have Nisei made progress. Most significant has been the appointment of three girls in the public school systems of three California cities. Before the war this field had been closed to Nisei. The prewar experience of one Nisei girl, who had completed three years of work in a teacher's college and who had tried dozens of places in California without success, is typical. Her own supervisors advised her to consider Hawaii if she was seriously interested in a teaching career.

Some of those who returned to the west coast as members of the faculty of various universities are Frank Miyamoto at the University of Washington, Dr. William Takahashi at the University of California, Wayne M. Kanemoto at the Santa Clara University School of Law, and Dr. Ben Kondo, heart specialist at the post-graduate school of the University of Southern California Medical School.

In the East and Midwest they are more numerous. Dr. Teru Hayashi, formerly with the University of Missouri, joined the staff at Columbia as instructor in Zoology; along with Osamu Shimizu, Canadian born Nisei, who is an instructor in the Far East Division. Constance Maruyama, formerly with the Hampton Institute, took up new duties at the Adelphi Academy in Brooklyn; and Dr. Kenneth Kurihara was recently appointed to the Economics Department of Princeton University. Harry Oshima was appointed to the faculty of the American University in Washington, D. C. as assistant professor of Economics. Robert Hosokawa was assigned to teach English and journalism at the Winona State Teachers College in Minnesota. Others have been Ernest Takahashi, temporary Dean of the Munroe School of Optometry in Chicago; and Randolph Sadaka, who serves as part time instructor.

Scientists have also been recognized. Dr. Shuichi Kusaka, a noted physicist and former assistant to Albert Einstein, has edited and revised the new edition of "Einstein--His Life and Times", which was written by Dr. Phillip Frank and translated by George Rosen. Dr. Hiroshi Minami, formerly on the faculty at Cornell University, participated in the examination of animals exposed to the atom bomb at Bikini. Jitsuichi Masaoka, at the Fisk University, has made contributions in the field of race relations. Numerous young students have also entered the field of social science and are continuing in the field. Before the war the prospective social scientist most frequently returned to the farm or family business.

In the field of music and arts, Nisei have also gained prominence. Prior to the war the names of Hizi Koike of the San Carlos Opera; Michio Ito, impresario; Chiuru Obata of the University of California; and others were well known. The names have increased manyfold. Sono Osato, star of a Broadway production; Yuriko Amemiya of the Martha Graham Troupe; and Dorothy Maruki of the San Carlos Opera Ballet Troupe have been successful on the stage. Among the artists, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, whose paintings have been selected as representative modern American Art; Mine Okubo, who did a number of sketches of the relocation center in her recently published book, "Citizen 13660"; and Isamu Noguchi, both sculptor and artist, have achieved national notice. Besides being internationally recognized as a sculptor, Mr. Noguchi has designed settings for the Martha Graham Dance Troupe, also for Ruth Page's ballet, "The Bells", which the Ballet Russe presented in August and September 1946.

Aside from numerous employees of the vernacular press, Nisei have broken into the field of journalism. Notable examples are Bill Hosokawa and Roy Takeno of the Denver Post; Hisaye Yamamoto of the Los Angeles Tribune; and Katherine Kawamura, editor of the Paonian, a small rural paper in Paonia, Colorado. Dorothy Fujita Matsuoka recently joined the publicity research department of Time, Inc. Anne Kurimoto, formerly of Seattle, Washington, was in the employ of the United States News throughout the war.

In the field of advertising, a Nisei illustrator, Ruth Matsuda, was given first prize in a state-wide advertising contest for two newspaper advertisements drawn by her for ZCMI, a large Salt Lake City department store. Her advertisements were judged best in the field of over 600 entries for radio, newspapers, magazines, and billboards.

The widespread employment of Nisei in responsible positions by the Federal Government has been noted elsewhere, but forms a part of the generally improved position of highly trained Nisei.

An item which appeared in the Progressive News of San Francisco on March 29, 1947 is of particular interest;

"Probably the first Nisei to hold such a federal post, Masaki Hironaka, San Diego resident, was recently appointed postmaster of the Lincoln Acres Station. Prior to evacuation, Hironaka was working in San Diego as a post office clerk."

Minoru Yamasaki, a Seattle born architect, has received national notice for a proposed design of new State buildings at Lansing, Michigan. Mr. Yamasaki is the chief designer for the architectural firm of Smith, Hinchman, and Grylls in Detroit. The creations of Yamasaki include plans for two office buildings, the State Supreme Court edifices, and a museum and archives structure which will cost an estimated 11 million dollars.

Positions requiring supervision of Caucasian crews, an arrangement practically unknown before the war, have not been infrequent. In Cleveland during the war, an Issei, who owned his own tailoring shop before evacuation, supervised a crew of 30 Caucasians in a clothing manufacturing concern. Dr. Iwao Moriyama is the head of a large staff in the Census Department in Washington, D. C. Throughout the war, Nisei have held supervisory positions in industry.

The kind of positions noted above could not have been secured in such numbers by Japanese Americans if their place in American society were less favorable. Before the war, not only did those of the west coast encounter prejudice and discrimination but the few better trained Nisei, who did venture East, were far from successful in securing adequate employment. Prejudice in the Midwest and East did exist, although at a less active level than in the West. Before the war, dispersal from the west coast provided no specific solution to the "Nisei problem".

At the time relocation centers were being filled, no one could have predicted that a by-product of evacuation would be tolerance; that the bitter suspicion of the early war period would give way to positive community sentiment.

By earning the respect of both fellow workers and community leadership for wartime service at home in sections of the country hitherto unacquainted with them, and by contributing with gallantry to the success of American arms in Italy and France and throughout the Pacific, Americans of Japanese descent have gained a degree of economic acceptance hitherto unknown in the United States.

Chapter IV

HOUSING ADJUSTMENT

Throughout the resettlement period, the shortage of housing has been a national problem of crisis proportions. Like all others who moved from place to place between the opening of hostilities and the present, evacuees ran into serious difficulty when they looked for shelter. Unlike other civilians, however, they had left well established homes under compulsion. No other problem has provided so widespread an obstacle to satisfactory adjustment of as great a number of resettlers.

In urging Japanese Americans to leave relocation centers, except at the very end, the Federal Government was unable to offer any guarantees of housing. In its releases to the centers, WRA developed a standard term in describing housing possibilities—"difficult, but not impossible." This term was, and has continued to be, accurate.

In most large cities, turnover in housing is usually greatest in the poorer sections, and often there is an established pattern of acceptance of minority groups in such areas. In Chicago, and to lesser extent in other cities new to resettlers, the location of Japanese Americans conformed to such a pattern.

As they began to reach out for better housing, in addition to the difficulty shared by all others, resettlers very often had the added problem of racial discrimination. Such discrimination was nowhere so obvious or so severe as that affecting many other disadvantaged racial groups, but there were cases in every locality where vacancies suddenly "had been filled" when the applicant appeared in person, or where neighbors objected to their moving in as renters or owners.

In some western cities, Los Angeles for example, racially restrictive covenants have been written to apply to persons of oriental descent, and in addition, many real estate dealers have refused to show property to returning evacuees outside segregated areas. Return to the West came just at the time when demobilization of the American Army after the European victory swelled the number of home seekers by the thousands, and the shelter problem in west coast cities became doubly difficult. Persons returning to take up farm labor fared somewhat better, since housing very often went with such jobs.

In most Midwestern and Eastern communities, Resettlement Committees formed to assist relocation, early recognized the housing problem as crucial, and both set up a program of community interpretation and organized a housing committee to directly assist the search for

vacancies. These committees supplemented assistance given by such national religious groups as the Friends, Baptists and Reformed Church through hostels established for short time housing of resettlers. Most hostels charged a standard rate of \$1 per day per person for board and room, and depended to a considerable extent for volunteer help in house-keeping. They provided immediate security, and a base from which the individual could work out his employment and housing problems. An editorial appearing in the January 1946 issue of the Kaleidoscope, a Cleveland Nisei publication, speaks of this function:

"From June of 1943, when the hostel was opened, to July 1945, when it was closed..., Max and Ellen Franzen were untiring host and hostess. They met us at the train--when we arrived friendless and a little scared; they transported our baggage to the hostel--when a lot of us didn't even know the procedure of retrieving our baggage; they housed and fed us in a friendly atmosphere of a cooperative dormitory; they helped us find a more permanent place to live by tracking down the want ads daily. They were the personification of that oft-quoted phrase, 'A friend in need, is a friend indeed.'"

Writing in the same issue of the Kaleidoscope, the local WRA housing officer stated:

"Japanese Americans should be gratified that throughout the several years of relocation in Cleveland, the question of race has been so small a part of their housing problem. There has been resistance of course, and often the discriminatory ideas of some landlords have been a great nuisance, but for the most part the housing of Japanese Americans has been just about as difficult as that of everybody else. Often there were cases of 'reverse' discrimination, in which the Japanese Americans were shown favor. They were the result of the landlords' experiences with other resettlers.

"In the city at large, over 45,000 returned veterans have come this year, added to a population of 80,000 war workers who had come to assist during the war. To the extent of my knowledge, Nisei war veterans have been treated as well as other returning veterans."

Except in Chicago, there has been little sharp congregation in any of the cities of the Midwest or East, although there has been some concentration. For example, in Cleveland, possibly a third of the 2,000 to 2,500 resettlers live in an area lying between 50th and 105th Street, and between Euclid Avenue and Lake Erie. In New York, a fairly large proportion of the newcomers ended up in the vicinity of Columbia University.

Chicago

In Chicago where more Japanese Americans are located than at any other point in the country except Los Angeles, there are three major areas of settlement, with the near north side and the south side in the general vicinity of the University of Chicago accounting for two-thirds of the 15,000 to 20,000 in that city. At least a fourth of the total, however, are very widely scattered, principally on the far north side, but also on the west and south sides.

The north side concentration lies in a depressed transition area characterized by rundown rooming houses, hotels and a large number of cheap night clubs and bars. It is in this area that various minority groups of the city have established themselves before gradually moving to other sections of the city. In such an area of deterioration, a pattern of entrance of new minority groups has been established, and as a result, opposition to new groups moving in is at a minimum. Then, too, the bulk of the first resettlers were unattached Nisei men, and it was in this section and the adjacent Loop that vacancies in cheap hotels and rooming houses were available. While the great majority no longer consists of single unattached males, as in the early days of resettlement, the largest number of this unattached resettler element still remain in this area.

A most serious difficulty for families living in this area is the complete lack of playgrounds for children, a condition which was brought to the attention of field interviewers with great frequency.

Among Japanese American leaders, the problem of delinquency is becoming of increasing concern. Thus, in a report prepared by the Chicago Resettlement Committee, a plea for support of additional supervised recreational facilities for the group is supported by the following:

"Cases on file with the social welfare agencies and the police department indicate a rising trend in crime and delinquency, especially from the ranks of the younger resettlers. The report tabulated the following:

1. Fourteen babies, probably more, born out of wedlock.
2. The prevalence of gambling cases on record with the police.
3. A youth in his late twenties now serving a life sentence.
4. Two young people arrested on suspicion of complicity in trafficking in vice.
5. A sex maniac still at large, accused in at least seven instances of having raped young Japanese women.

6. Numerous frustrated individuals on the margin of neurotic and psychopathic behavior." /2

In comparison with the population at large, the rate of delinquency is not high. However, the lack of wholesome recreational facilities in an area such as this, and the lack of parental supervision over many single young people, has increased the number of social problem cases far beyond that of the prewar experience.

While much has been said about the poor housing that the resettlers were forced to occupy when first arriving in Chicago, in general it can be said that the majority today occupy housing that compares favorably with that secured by other newcomers to the city of the same general income level. Almost every resettler family that now occupies rented quarters seems to feel they want and can afford better accommodations and anticipate moving when such quarters become available.

Type of housing varies, of course, with income level and with the section of the city in which quarters are located. The general run of housing on the near north side tends to be either of rooming houses or apartments in small apartment houses. The majority of apartments in this area are located in small buildings which originally were not designed for such purposes and the apartments that have resulted tend to be makeshift affairs. In rooming houses, rooms rent from \$5 to \$10 per week, depending on location and type of room. In most of the rooming houses, the rooms are small and dirty, there is one bath to a floor, and as many as 10 to 12 individuals use it.

The south side area tends to be one of small unit apartments, the University of Chicago area especially so. Apartments around the Cottage Grove--39th to 43rd Street area, tend to be a little bigger and it is here that many of the south side family groups have settled. The far north housing tends to be more of the unfurnished flat and single unit house type.

From estimates made by Chicago resettlers, by the end of 1946, over 400 families had purchased homes. Movement toward more adequate housing may be expected to continue, at least until the housing crisis is at an end.

It should be noted that in Chicago, restrictive covenants on real estate sales do not specifically apply to oriental people, consequently such restrictions are not expected to provide an obstacle to the improvement of housing.

A brick which in November of 1946 was hurled through the window of a Nisei veteran living on the west side apparently represented an

isolated instance of prejudice, but at the same time served notice that acceptance was neither automatic nor complete.

The leasing or purchasing of rooming and apartment houses has been a very popular resettlement pattern in Chicago. As one Japanese American remarked:

"This is very logical and sensible, in that it solves the housing problem for the family doing the leasing or purchasing." /1

In Detroit, the resettlers are entirely scattered, and the same may be said of such cities as Cincinnati, Des Moines, Minneapolis, St. Louis--in fact, of all of the centers of urban population in the Midwest and East, where evacuees have gone, except those already discussed.

As noted in Chicago, in nearly all of these localities, one means of solving the housing problem has been the purchase of hotels and apartments by Japanese Americans, with subsequent rentals to resettlers. The practice has been even more true of the Intermountain States and west coast cities.

Denver

Concerning housing in Denver, the field interviewer had this to say:

"It is superfluous merely to say that housing is one of the major problems facing Japanese in Denver, for housing is a major national problem. In general, the people have made a fairly satisfactory adjustment. Many have bought homes, some excellent ones, and others fair, while a good number are living in apartment houses and hotels." /1

There are three major residential districts in which Japanese Americans are living in greatest number in Denver.

The first, and most concentrated is in the Larimer district. This, the original business district of Denver, has become a transition area of cheap hotels, pawnshops, and bars, and it is here that the very great proportion of resettler business in Denver is located. With the possible exception of one or two of the west coast cities, this is the most compact Little Tokyo area in the country.

Although some of the hotels and apartments are fair, a large number are old and lacking in facilities and conveniences, and a few are dilapidated. A few apartments have a gas stove, which serves to provide heat as well as a place to cook, and there is often a lack of a sink or

basin, or bathroom in the individual apartment. In most of the apartments, as well as the hotels, there is usually one bathroom on a floor. Hotel and apartment rental in this district is cheap, ranging for hotel rooms from \$3 to \$10 per week and averaging about \$5. The average rental for full size apartments is a little more than the hotel rate, but not very much more.

Most of the single men and women of the Denver Japanese population live in this district, as well as many small family units. From all aspects, this is a disadvantageous district for families with young children. The rooms and apartments are crowded, and there is no playground for the children, who may be found playing in the dark hallways, in stores, or on the crowded and unsavory street.

The second district of concentration lies to the northeast of the Larimer area. In the past it has largely harbored Mexican and poorer Caucasian families. Many resettler families have bought homes there, and there are fewer apartment houses. The houses are very old, and most of the homes lack a regular heating system. Despite some undesirable features in the homes, this district is far more desirable than the Larimer area. There appears to be little friction between the residents of various racial backgrounds.

The third district lies in northwest Denver, and compares well with the better residential sections of the city. The homes are relatively new, substantial, spacious, and have well kept yard space. The more successful resettler business and professional people have bought homes here. The number of resettlers in this section is considerable, although less than in the other two districts described.

In addition, a number of families have scattered throughout the city. There has been occasional opposition to this, which has deterred some from making a move. Thus, in August 1946, a Nisei veteran received an unsigned letter, to which was attached the names of 38 residents of a street to which he proposed to move. It read:

"Just a line as we hear that you had bought The House at 1055 So. Sheridan. No I am telling you that we are all 100% against a Jap in The Block. The People that Had said it Made No difference when you was from door to door said They Have Changed there' mind. They did not Realize at The time you was Here. So Here we are our petion is already for our lawyer to take action should you move you Better tell Mrs. --- that you want you Money back as we will not let you move in This Block as we are entirely against it so please don't try to Move as it will cost you Money and trouble to move out.

Thank you," 1

This matter was taken up by the Denver Unity Council, the Japanese Americans Citizens League, and the Denver Fellowship of Reconciliation. The latter organization made a house to house canvas, and as a result ten of the names were removed from the petition. Legal counsel for the JACL sent letters to each of the protestors, commending those who had removed their names from the list; to the others his letter stated in part:

"First of all, I would like to express appreciation to you folks for stating your views openly, above-board, and in an American manner. It gives us opportunity to present Frank's case in a similarly open and frank way.

"I would like to advise you that Frank and his family intends to move in at 1055 So. Sheridan Boulevard on Friday, Sept. 6. This is not done in defiance of your wishes, but as an exercise of his constitutional rights as an American citizen and as a United States Army veteran who went overseas to fight for home and country....Possibly you folks did not realize that Frank... is a veteran of World War II. He has served two years overseas, in Germany...(and) has been honorably discharged from the Army of the United States.

"I would like to mention that this matter has also been called to the attention of (the) District Attorney for your area, and to (the) United States District Attorney. We have not requested any action as yet, but in the event of any violence or disturbance, you can be assured that the malefactors will be vigorously prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law....I mention these things only to emphasize that the law and the Constitution of the United States, backed by the machinery of the federal government is on the side of Frank ---.

"We hope that we have made our position clear. We would deplore any ill feeling or any violence. But please be assured that we shall take every legal step to protect Frank --- in the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of his home, as a free and equal American citizen."/1

Frank and his family moved in as scheduled, and six months later, there had yet to be any overt difficulty in the neighborhood, while some had gone out of their way to be friendly.

West Coast

If housing was a difficult problem in all parts of the country, it was particularly difficult on the west coast at the time the evacuees were returning. Throughout the war there had been a

tremendous influx of new workers into that part of the country. In the first half of 1945, there had occurred a shifting of war activities to the west coast as the European war neared its end, and war efforts were increasingly directed toward the Pacific. In addition to these causes of housing stringency, discharged veterans were returning in thousands to set up homes.

Immediately after the lifting of the exclusion order, extraordinary efforts were put forth by friendly groups in California to establish hostels and to provide temporary housing for evacuees. The War Relocation Authority assigned staff to assist these efforts, and arranged to loan needed equipment such as cots, mattresses, blankets, china, and cooking equipment. Efforts were made to find employment which would include housing. In the Santa Clara Valley, for example, a cooperative growers' association was induced to purchase 400 prefabricated units to house needed farm workers. Elsewhere, those with housing to offer were best able to secure workers.

In the Pacific Northwest, the curtailment of war contracts quite early provided availability of Federal housing units, and while the problem in this area was severe, it did not assume the crisis proportions that developed in California.

In its national final report entitled "The Relocation Program," the WRA states the following:

"As early as June (1945) it had become apparent that the Authority would have to take some extraordinary measures to meet the housing crisis in a few of its California districts....Renewed emphasis was placed on the acquisition of suitable hostels. A general survey was made of all Army, Navy, and Coast Guard installations all up and down the west coast....Finally, the Western Defense Command turned over to the War Relocation Authority the first big block of temporary housing ... at Fort Funston ... in San Francisco ... sufficient to house approximately 500 persons. Shortly thereafter, the Lomita Air Strip in Los Angeles County ... capable of housing 500 persons was turned over. Soon thereafter five other installations were purchased from the Army Engineers ... having a total capacity of approximately 700 persons. The Santa Ana Air Base in Orange County provided, on a permit to use, sufficient barracks to house more than the number of residents returning to Orange County. The Army Air Transport Command in Sacramento turned over sufficient barracks at Camp Kohler to house returnees needing housing in Sacramento.

"At the same time these barracks were being acquired, the Authority negotiated an agreement with the Federal Public Housing Authority in San Francisco to take 100 veterans or service

connected families into public housing in San Francisco, 100 families in the Los Angeles area, and 25 families in the San Diego area. At the same time, the Federal Public Housing Authority agreed to make available dormitories at Hunters Point in San Francisco sufficient to house 800 persons, and in Marin County, just across the Bay, sufficient dormitories to take care of 1,000 persons. The FPHA entered into an agreement to manage, on a reimbursable basis for WRA, all the temporary housing which it had acquired. This agency also agreed to convert the barracks into temporary family living quarters at WRA expense.

"In general, these steps went a long way toward solving the immediate housing crisis. Although the situation remained very acute in Los Angeles County, the FPHA finally agreed to loan more than 450 unused trailers to be used to supplement housing at five of the existing Army installations.

"By the time the last relocation center was closed on November 30, (1945) approximately 250 veterans or service-connected families had moved into public housing; approximately 100 persons were in Camp Kohler, Sacramento; 100 in Fort Funston, San Francisco; 100 in the Santa Ana Air Base; 2,000 in the six temporary installations in Los Angeles County; and in addition to this, approximately 4,000 were in hostels."

Since WRA was going out of business on June 30, 1946, the liquidation of these units became a primary problem, both to the Authority, and to the people who were again called upon to move. Liquidation of these units was carried out within the time limit, partly through dispersal to normal dwellings, and partly through the setting up of a regular FPHA trailer camp at Winona, near Burbank, which had sufficient capacity to care for the 1,000 persons in the six Los Angeles temporary installations. In the Bay area, sufficient apartment housing was found at Richmond to care for 1,000 persons, including those then housed in dormitories at Hunters Point in San Francisco. However, approximately 117 families chose to remain at Hunters Point rather than to move across the Bay, and WRA transferred sufficient funds to FPHA to convert these dormitories into family units.

With this background as a guide, a check into the housing of Japanese Americans along the west coast was made late in 1946. The situation has not changed materially, although there had been some purchase of homes. In the Northwest, where the situation had been less critical earlier, the housing problem, while it remained serious, was again less severe than elsewhere on the coast. In both Portland and Seattle, the operation of hotels and apartment houses had been a primary prewar occupation, and as the people resumed these enterprises, the pressure on housing diminished somewhat. In Seattle, 58 families are occupying public housing units, mostly in outlying areas, and a number are still to be found in similar units near Portland.

Seattle

In Seattle, where a sample study of the entire population was made, replies to the inquiry: "How does your present housing compare with your prewar home?" indicated that 13 per cent believed their housing is now better, 39 per cent that it is the same, and 42 per cent that it is worse than before. To a second question, "Is your present housing satisfactory or unsatisfactory?" 35 per cent expressed definite dissatisfaction, while the remainder voiced satisfaction with more or less qualification. The overwhelming majority of the unfavorable expressions referred to crowding and the limitation of space, but equally noteworthy was the predominant attitude of an acceptance of the situation.

Distribution of Japanese Americans in Seattle is roughly in the same districts as before the war. Business locations on lower Jackson and Main Streets which were taken over mostly by Negroes during the war have gradually returned to the hands of the Japanese, and the residential area is widely scattered in all directions from the business center.

Population concentration is somewhat more marked than before. Due to the general shortage of housing and high rentals, there has been a tendency toward doubling up of families in smaller dwelling units, and of congregating in a number of multiple-family units. As in Chicago and elsewhere, one method by which those of financial means have solved both their housing and employment problems has been to lease hotels, apartment buildings, or rooming houses for personal residential purposes, and in turn to rent rooms or apartments in the building to other Japanese Americans.

At the same time, the housing shortage has also functioned toward dispersal as home buyers have had to extend their search for desirable vacancies into areas which Japanese Americans previously did not occupy. A series of reports from Seattle discuss the problems involved in moving to new areas:

"The pattern of residential segregation for minority groups has not acquired that definiteness that characterizes many cities of the East and Midwest, or even of California. This is not to say that there is no segregation, but an index of residential segregation developed at the University of Washington, demonstrates that the rate of segregation in Seattle is less than in most cities of a comparable size in the country.

"The point is this: there not only is no Cottage Grove Avenue as in Chicago defining residential color lines, but there also are fairly large areas of lower middle class residences in this city where whites predominate and yet other racial groups are present in substantial numbers. One reason for this is that the

number of persons among the minorities who were seeking residences outside their district was, at any given time, relatively small such that a gradual process of infiltration was possible without arousing too much antagonism. Moreover, Seattle is a city of small, single-family dwellings, many of them separated not only by yards but also by vacant lots, and there is not that resistance that is to be found in cities composed of apartment buildings.

"Generally speaking, it may be said that the upper and upper middle class districts of Seattle, including Laurelhurst, Magnolia Bluff, Mt. Baker, Montlake, Madison Park, and Denny Blaine, and the best sections of Capitol Hill, Queen Anne Hill and West Seattle, will not take minorities. We know this because real estate agents will not "show" to minorities if the desired residence happens to be in any one of these areas, and because no minorities to my knowledge live there except as domestics. These areas are scattered in wide parts of Seattle, but in the interstices are many areas where minorities do live thus complicating the problem of specifying where the covenants are specifically operative." 1

The president of the local Nisei Veterans Group stated that he knew of no case where a Nisei veteran reported difficulty in getting housing in Seattle, due to discrimination. He added:

"Of course, that's probably because no one has made a test case by trying to get into areas where covenants exist. But you know how Seattle is; we don't have too much trouble of that kind."

Two points may be made in this connection--that most veterans are too young or do not have sufficient funds themselves to consider the purchase of a home, and their families are unable to buy the better homes which might be restricted; and if they do purchase, or rent, their residences can be selected from a wide area with a varied range of homes, and there is some preference for staying within calling distance of the Japanese business center.

Dr. Paul R. and his wife, who did seek a home in a better residential district, ran into trouble with real estate agents in seeking homes outside the abovementioned district. He stated:

"We had a deal on with a real estate agent for a house on Capitol Hill (an old but highly respectable residential area.) He took us around to the place, and we were interested in buying, but the owner decided that he didn't want to show it to

us. We were interested in looking around the University and out toward Laurelhurst, but the real estate people wouldn't handle us as clients. A minister friend (Caucasian) went to the agent to see if he would handle us, but he simply refused to show us anything. Several of the other agents around the university district are like that. They simply refuse to show. The thing is, the property they handle carries a "no non-Caucasian" clause and the agent would lose his license if he sold property to a non-Caucasian."

One case of residential discrimination which had a satisfactory outcome was that of Constance H. and her family. The case was reported as follows:

"Connie's folks recently bought a place on 311 Dewey Place last September. It's a Caucasian neighborhood, but there's no restrictive covenant. When the neighbor across the way heard that some Japanese were going to move in, they raised objections. Connie decided to go to the Mayor's Committee with the problem, so when Irene M. (executive secretary of the committee) heard of the case, she went out to this other party's home and talked to the fellow. Irene convinced this fellow that the Japanese would make just as good if not better neighbors than others; she told him of the activities of the 442nd and of the rights of these people to live wherever they wanted to. Irene's good, you know, and pretty soon she had him agreeing that it was probably all right to have the H's for neighbors, although I don't know whether she ever convinced him that his property wouldn't deteriorate in value because of a non-Caucasian moving in."

This informant continued:

"The foregoing information indicates that restrictive covenants are operative in the city, usually attached to deeds on property, but that the covenants except in the most exclusive areas are not sufficiently well distributed to completely prevent invasion by minorities. The main defense lines are probably the real estate agents who refuse to handle non-Caucasian clients, and this is effective during such a period as the present when a housing shortage exists such that the agents can choose their clients, and the individual buyer has difficulty uncovering prospective sellers by himself. The question of restrictive covenants does not appear in as acute form in this city as in some others because there are not as many minority group members seeking homes in restricted areas as in other cities, and because there are sufficient numbers of areas and varied types of homes where no restrictions exist for the minorities to satisfy most of their housing needs." 1

San Francisco Bay Area

In San Francisco, late in 1946, there were still more than 400 persons living in the Hunters Point dormitories, which for some reason had not been converted to apartments. The situation here was difficult since there are no cooking or other facilities for family living. Across the Bay, 1,000 persons were continuing to utilize the full capacity of the segregated section of the Richmond Housing development provided for them.

In a report prepared by a worker at the Oakland International Institute, the following statement was made:

"The housing situation in the East Bay is a desperate one. The Richmond Japanese section is full to overflowing; in some instances 9 or 10 persons are living in two rooms; the same is true of the Alameda project. I receive telephone calls daily from persons who are frantically trying to find a place to live. I have at present a waiting list of some ten families who say their present living conditions are intolerable; there are 5 families in a 5 room house; a family of 6 in one room; a family of 5 living in the Methodist hostel with no adequate eating facilities and no heat; a family of 6 living in a basement room; a family of 3 living in a friend's kitchen. I have also had interviews with Japanese who have come from Salinas, Redwood City, and Fresno and are unable to find any living quarters in those cities. Yesterday, I received a letter from Hazelton, Idaho in which the writer stated that her family could no longer live under the present conditions. These are just a few of the instances that I hear about daily and there is nothing I can do; there is no place I can turn because everything is so overcrowded already." /3

In San Francisco itself, a worker of the International Institute of that city reported the following:

"The situation in San Francisco has been considerably heightened by the fact that in-migration has not ceased, particularly among the minority groups, with the result that housing finds have come to a complete standstill. Probably not more than half of the returned evacuees are as well housed as before the war.

"Another problem which has arisen concern loans on available property. The Fillmore District does have property for sale but at greatly inflated rates. As a result prospective purchasers have had difficulties in getting loans because the district at the same time is considered a depressed area and is the first scheduled for urban redevelopment. This means

that the city has the option to re-buy at greatly devalued prices, making available property prohibitive.

"Real estate operators have agreements with one another which prevent their showing available property in outlying districts to minority groups even though there may be no restrictive covenants. There are some exceptions to these general rules, of course, but these exceptions have never been made through private real estate agents, but always between individuals wanting to buy and sell.

"From 1942 on there has been no construction of private housing for members of minority groups, which means that we are still using, or trying to use, the same property that we had before the war with the exception of public housing, in the face of an increase of some 30,000 Negroes, unnumbered Latin Americans, and the 4,000 plus Japanese who have returned." 4

As in Seattle, real estate agents in San Francisco generally refuse to show homes up for sale in Caucasian neighborhoods, and even where places can be found by Japanese Americans outside the confines of "acceptable" areas, the difficulty of securing necessary financing for purchase had proved insurmountable for most.

Los Angeles

Throughout the period of return to the west coast, the housing of those going to Los Angeles presented greater difficulty than that of any other city. Primarily, this was due to the general housing shortage. Thus, on September 14, 1946, an Associated Press dispatch noted a report made by the city director of veterans temporary housing program to the Los Angeles city council, that "Los Angeles County has 125,000 homeless families...estimated at three and one-half persons each... and is continuing to fall behind in providing housing not only for veterans but for a population gain approximating 25,000 each month." While the basis of this estimate was not given, the problem has been exceedingly grave.

Estimates have placed the number of returned evacuees in Los Angeles County at 25,000. In spite of the great stringency of housing, all but 10 to 15 per cent of these people had managed by the end of 1946 to find better than transient quarters.

Most fortunate are those who retained ownership or have purchased homes, although the latter group necessarily have paid greatly inflated prices. At the time of evacuation, Japanese Americans owned approximately 1,100 residences in Los Angeles. Of these, from 150 to 200 had

been sold before return was permitted. Since the return, it has been estimated that over 400 pieces of residential property had been purchased. It is probable that at least one-fourth of the returned evacuees are living on their own property.

Home purchases have been made primarily in the Normandie and West Los Angeles areas, residential districts for a large number of Japanese Americans before the war. Their purchases, however, have extended away from the concentration towards the fringe of the restricted zones. Only a few have purchased homes in restricted zones, mainly because most Japanese American real estate salesmen have discouraged Nisei from purchasing in these areas. Three restrictive covenant cases are now up in court. The Nisei are not alone, however, for in the same restricted zone, the Victor Hall tract, located on the "westside," a Korean dentist, and more than 30 Negroe families are involved in litigation.

Many homeowners had difficulty in getting back their old places of residence. The OPA prevented homeowners from moving in without a six months' notice of eviction, and many homeowners had to wait out the notice period in already over-crowded hostels and hotels.

The major areas of settlement of Japanese Americans follow closely the prewar pattern. Hollenbeck and Belvedere, Midtown, Normandie, Hollywood, and West Los Angeles account for approximately one-half of the total estimated 25,000 population. The remainder are scattered in all sections of Los Angeles County with smaller concentrations in Pasadena, Gardena, and other towns.

The areas mentioned above are similar in only one respect, that they are almost all located in non-restricted areas. The range in physical structure varies from the depressed, crowded and run-down areas of skid-row and Little Tokyo in midtown to well kept single family dwellings in the other sections which are comparable to those in any middle class districts.

Although the least fortunate are crowded into hotels, hostels and trailer camps, it is not unusual to find several families living in one family type dwelling. In some residential areas, as Hollenbeck and Normandie, for example, large houses were purchased for multiple occupancy. An owner of such a house remarked:

"When I came back, I bought a big house. First thing, a friend...asked if I could spare a room...I charged \$25 a month rent for a room, and now there are three families, and two couples plus one single man staying at our place. They have no place to go, and I figure for the next two years at least, housing will be tight." 1

Least well off are the 10 to 15 per cent of the returned evacuees who still live in temporary quarters. Indeed, for no segment of the evacuee population in any part of the United States has the problem of shelter been so severe.

When WRA closed its national office in June 1946, all of the people in WRA temporary housing had been moved to other locations, but between 2,500 and 3,000 in Los Angeles County were still living in transient quarters, about evenly distributed between hostels and trailer camps. At the end of 1946, there were still an estimated 800 to 900 in hostels, and 1,700 to 1,800 in trailer camps at Burbank and Long Beach.

In many respects, life in both trailer camps and hostels is reminiscent of the WRA center--concentration of Japanese people, cramped quarters, limited facilities--except that in some of the smaller hostels, facilities are considerably less adequate.

The largest of the hostels, which in the fall of 1946 housed about 100 persons is a well kept building with adequate sanitary facilities, and space for privacy. In another, also described as being among the most adequate, the interviewer reported:

"I walked into the building, only to be faced immediately with drapes hung from wire and wooden poles. These were used to separate quarters.

"I could find no one to talk to me, although there were several women about. It seems difficult to get people living in hostels to knock off a few minutes for some reason. Perhaps they feel the effects of living in a crowded hostel, and feel they cannot invite one in for a chat. Ordinarily, in their own homes, they would inquire of one his business, then invite him in." 1

In an interview reported earlier, an Issei business woman suggested a clue to this condition:

"You should visit the T. Hostel. It is going to be closed in about a month. That place reminds me of camp. Blankets and sheets are used for walls, a small space allotted for each family, with army cots, blankets and boxes comprising all the furniture. They are the most unfortunate people. If you go, dress in your old clothes. Otherwise they will shut up like a clam, because they will resist you because they are jealous of anyone who is in a better position than they." 1

Another hostel was described:

"A. Hostel is located in the heart of skid row. It is an old frame building of about 48 rooms, built along the order of an old hotel with a long corridor running back and forth through the building on both the first and second floors.

"Mr. R. escorted me through a long hallway which had lined up along one side crates of stored goods. The place was very crowded. He took me to S's room. It was very small, even for a hotel room. On each side of the room there were two army cots, with mattress and blankets covering them. An orange crate standing upright served as a cabinet. A bowl of fruit, a portable closet, and a pasteboard waste box constitute the rest of the things in the room. I learned that the cost was 50¢ per bed per night."/1

A number of these hostels have been converted to permanent lodging places. Concerning one such place, a resident stated:

"I am staying at S.K.'s mother's place. I have a small room, which has two double beds for the four of us. There is not even room to write letters or rest. I am paying \$30 a month.

"Lots of people bought hotels and then called them hostels. For instance, the T. Hotel. They used to charge only 50¢ a night for a room. Now they charge 55¢ for one bed. If there is only one in the family, it is not bad, but when there are five, that is \$2.75 a night just for one room."/1

Exploitation of Japanese by Japanese has been the subject of much bitter comment among those who have returned to Los Angeles. But as one Issei remarked, "The people are too busy earning money themselves to do anything about it."

Concern that such conditions may produce social problems is often expressed:

"The hostels in Little Tokyo are breeding places of delinquency. They have no room for entertainment, for visiting, or for inviting friends, and so the young people, kids of 14 and 15, run around outside all hours of the night and day."/1

The scattering of members of families has been one of the greater grievances of the housing situation. Among many people, it is felt that the loosening of family controls which began in the centers, continues to threaten family ties and unity. Such an indication is the following:

"I know of some families whose mother works here, and the father works there, and the children live in hostels or hotels. They

are drifting further and further apart. But it is the only way they can live, and earn money.

"There is no family life. When we were in camp, our parents began to lose hold of the family, and now they don't have any control. Kids about 14 or 15 go out as school girls. Johnnie's sister is in junior high school and she works as a school girl. Before the war, the parents wouldn't consider letting the boys out, even after we graduated from high school."/1

Another older Nisei remarked:

"And there is the problem of training kids. The boys and girls are now as wild as any kind you see anyplace...you can't blame them exactly, they have no home, and no one at home tells them anything...they don't have any pride anymore. They started out in camps when they had no control over the kids at the dinner table."/1

The purchases of hotels in Little Tokyo, although making quarters available to the returned Japanese, have also left homeless the Negroes who had come in during the evacuees' absence. Thus, according to one, himself a Negro stated, "When a Negro tenant moves out of a Japanese hotel, he is not replaced by another Negro." Resistance has been small, however, and the same person remarked:

"As the (Japanese) businessmen get established, they move out to live in another neighborhood...The Negro, on the other hand, lives here, and works someplace else. Those who have established themselves in good jobs...tend to move out...because it is a disgrace for anyone to live here for more than two years."/1

The severe housing stringency in Los Angeles accounts in part for continued residence in hostels and trailer camps, but not entirely. People who came to like intimate living with other Japanese in relocation centers, and these were more than a few, have found hostel and trailer camp life not too onerous. If the more ambitious and able left the centers early for relocation to the Midwest and East, these represent the least ambitious and least able of those who waited out the closing of the centers.

Winona, in Burbank, housing the largest group of evacuees of all trailer camps was described in an article in the Rafu Shimpo of December 21, 1946, as the home for the "most shoved around people."* A more fortunate individual described the group in part as "the worst

*See the following page for footnote.

ones are those with large families, and who had no money when they were evacuated. They are living in trailer camps." A field worker reporting on Winona wrote:

"As we entered the camp it gave me an impression of going back into a relocation camp. Half-naked and tanned children were running in and out of the shade, a shirtless fat individual was watering a newly sprouted lawn,...and a few women were doing their ironing in the centrally located laundry trailer."/1

Of the living conditions, he wrote:

"We went inside to see what it looked like...two beds, one on each end of the trailer, and the kitchen in the center lined with drawers...my immediate reaction was that this was worse than a 20 x 25 apartment in Poston."/1

In spite of the physical undesirability, one of the more prominent Winonans remarked, "Most of the people are happy here."

Until the latter part of 1946, Winona was composed exclusively of evacuee tenants. As a few evacuee families moved out, Caucasian veteran families were permitted to live in the trailer camp and by the end of 1946, 22 veteran families were living with 195 evacuee families.

Approximately 900 individuals compose the 195 family groups. Of the types of families residing in Winona, a social worker whose district included the trailer camp stated:

"...contrary to general impressions, there are not too many old couples staying there...many of the most destitute are those who raised a large family in camp. They are not old couples... and could not get work as domestics, and also could not find homes for their large families...there is a wide gap between the ages (of Issei and Nisei) and the reason for this is that the older children are either working in Chicago or other eastern cities, or are working out here in Los Angeles."/1

(Footnote for preceding page)

Since this was written, word has been received that the one year lease on the Winona camp site has run out and will not be renewed. The Federal Public Housing Authority has been reported as willing to sell the trailer units at prices ranging from \$100 to \$125, but at the end of April 1947, an alternative site had not been found. At that time, the Pacific Citizen reported that both county and private agencies are working to find a solution, which it was hoped would not require a change of schools for the 500 school-age children living on the project.

Because of the homogeneity of ancestry, Japanese is the dominant language spoken. Its effect on the children who are impressionable is cited by a field worker:

"One of the little girls of five, had stubbed her toe, and was talking to everyone about it. Her sentences were mixtures of poor Japanese and English. All the children spoke similarly, except that the tendency was for them to speak Japanese more frequently."/1

Of the ill-effects on children, a businessman of Little Tokyo remarked:

"...they are a bad place for children. There is a condition similar to that we had in camp...The children are picking up all kinds of bad habits that they see. The older folks are neglecting them in their education and training. The damage done now will stay with them for years and years. I don't see why the people don't try to move out as fast as they can into something better."/1

In the Long Beach trailer camp where there is a policy of non-segregation there was no air of a purely Japanese situation as was the case in Burbank where the Japanese dominate the camp. The Japanese people seem well adjusted to the situation. In September 1946, of the total 450 trailers, only 150 were occupied by the Japanese. The social development of the Japanese in the camp was described by a Caucasian resident as follows:

"The Japanese living here were not always like this. We had a tough time organizing them, and getting them to use the community facilities. When I first came here, the Japanese stayed in their own trailers, and looked as unhappy as any group could possibly be. The kids hung around together with nothing to do...I decided to organize a tenant's council...composed of nine members ...and at least three be Japanese. In any camp activity we try not to limit it to any one group, but I felt that the Japanese were the most underprivileged...For the Caucasians, the camp was only a place to sleep. But for the Japanese it was their temporary home, and they looked upon it as at least with some permanency.

"The first thing that we did was to clear the recreation hall of all the warehoused goods. Then I got the young people together, the teen-agers, and said we were going to have weekly dances."/1

In speaking of the children, he stated:

"Another program I got started was the 'Brownies.' I had a tough time getting a leader, but one Caucasian woman decided to help out. Invitations were given to the Caucasian people, but most of them said that they did not want their kids to play with the Japanese. We got started anyway, and now quite a few of the (Caucasian) girls want to join up. They go to the meetings and do all they can to join. We are trying to get the Cub Scouts organized, and find the same thing going on." 1

As with other sections of the country, in Los Angeles there will continue to be movement toward more adequate housing, at least until the national crisis is over.

Chapter V

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

In the preceding chapters, the postwar adjustment of the evacuated Japanese Americans has been examined from the standpoint of their activity in meeting the primary problems of securing income and shelter. Necessarily, in describing economic factors, the earlier chapters included material concerning a number of phases of their social adjustment. This was true, for example, of the second chapter which dealt with public attitudes toward Japanese Americans, and in other chapters where instances both of discrimination and equality of opportunity were set down in connection with various aspects of their economic adjustment. In the first chapter, an account was given of the social effects of the process of relocation, together with a discussion of their present location and mobility. Indeed, the fact of dispersion, and that persons of Japanese descent have become one of the most widely traveled segments of the American population is in itself one of the primary social consequences of the evacuation.

Communities bearing a physical resemblance to prewar Little Tokyos are in existence in several west coast cities, and there is a degree of congregation in many other cities where Japanese Americans live. In these, a specifically Japanese American after-hours social life has been established. At the same time, however, there is evidence that the element of social control, so strongly a part of the prewar Little Tokyo, has not regained strength in the postwar social situation; that individual differences of aspiration and attitude have more weight in determining social behavior than the fact of common ancestry.

In this chapter, material will be presented to indicate the manner in which Japanese Americans have approached those areas of social adjustment in which their specific problems and group behavior has significance. Throughout this presentation, the degree of their participation in the wider life of the American communities in which they live will be treated in terms of institutions and activities serving their social needs.

In the process of postwar adjustment, there has been both continuity with prewar community life, and sharp changes from the old pattern. Therefore, before discussing present social adjustment, the basic elements of the prewar social structure will be briefly outlined.

Prewar Social Adjustment

In the principal prewar Japanese communities the strong in-group control of the means of livelihood which has already been discussed was matched by equally effective social organization. Few immigrant groups in America had achieved the degree of social solidarity to be found among the Japanese.

There appear to have been two important sources of solidarity-- attack by other groups in the community which forced the Japanese together for common defense, and a common cultural background which drew them together no less strongly. The first factor, that of prejudice and discrimination, has already received extensive consideration in this report, but little has been said concerning the second. Since their cultural heritage has had part in defining the problems of adjustment of both Issei and Nisei, it is desirable to examine this factor before going on to the development of postwar social organization.

In the Japan of the early 1900's, when most of the immigrant Japanese left for this country, every phase of social intercourse was governed by custom.* In the family, there was complete patriarchal control. Unlike America where development of the individual is stressed, in Japan the welfare of the family group was considered more important than individual welfare and every member of the family had a responsibility to the rest. There was a tradition of the eldest son remaining within the family after marriage. Emphasis was placed on authority, the meticulous observance of a vast system of etiquette and the preservation of the family honor. There was rigid class stratification and each member of society had a specified place which he was trained to fill according to recognized rules of conduct.

Like other immigrant groups, the Japanese brought their old world culture with them. Although strenuous efforts were made to understand and follow the more obvious phases of American social custom and practice, the difficulty of language was so great, and some elements of the culture of their homeland seemed so valuable, that the formation of Little Tokyos where both language and culture could be preserved

*Much of the discussion of the prewar Japanese community has been adapted from Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle, prepared by Shotaro Frank Miyamoto of the University of Washington. The reader interested in more detailed information on this subject is referred to that work, and to the WRA final report entitled WARTIME EXILE, The Exclusion of the Japanese from the West Coast.

came as a natural development to the Issei. In the Little Tokyos, the means could be developed to enforce the concept of the greater importance of group welfare over that of the individual. Some, it is true, deliberately took residence away from other Japanese, but these were few in number. The fact that the greater proportion fully expected to return to Japan after making a "stake" here, reinforced their desire to remain culturally Japanese.

Out of these elements, the Little Tokyo communities developed an elaborate social structure. In every community of appreciable settlement, there was a Japanese Association through which contacts with the larger community were maintained, and which served as a final arbiter within the Japanese Community. As early as 1921, Park and Miller in their Americanization Studies had stated:

"Whether we like them or not, no other foreign language group is so completely and intelligently organized to control its members, and no other group has at all equalled them in the work of accommodating themselves to alien conditions."

Concerning the Japanese Associations they noted:

"The object is to ... (1) Elevate the character of the Japanese immigrants; (2) to promote association between the Japanese and Americans; (3) to promote commerce, agriculture, and other industries; and (4) to further Japanese interests... it interests itself in whatever concerns the Japanese.

"Under the direction of the Japanese Association they are acquiring a reputation for business integrity. Because of their historical traits of allegiance also they are inclined to make more far going concessions than any other group in order to overcome prejudices and secure status here." /2

As the Japanese communities developed, the Japanese associations gradually ceased to intervene directly in economic affairs, which came to be regulated by a variety of specific business associations. They did continue as an integrating force within the Japanese community. The functions of the Educational Committee of the North American Japanese Association of Seattle, as described in 1939, will illustrate:

"...Its chief aim has been that of promoting high scholarship among the second generation, and it has been among the most vigorous supporters of those students who have taken special honors at their schools. Likewise it is the watchdog for any cases of juvenile delinquency, that they might

be publicized as a moral lesson to other children. It is this kind of pressure which keeps the parents constantly watchful over their children, lest they fall into bad ways and bring shame upon the family name." /3

Less concerned with community control than the Japanese associations, but more numerous and more directly concerned with economic advancement were the business and farm organizations. Although these were numerous, they were not unified into a single body and remained autonomous both in function and control. In Los Angeles, for example, there were 32 such organizations covering retail and wholesale establishments, service enterprises such as laundries and dry cleaners, professional groups, and those in agriculture including gardeners, nurserymen and the like. Several attempts to form cooperatives, banks, and larger business establishments failed largely because of the Issei's lack of trust and experience in organizations based on a secondary relationship.

In addition to business and professional associations, there were numerous mutual aid societies through which savings were pooled to provide capital for business enterprise, or to help in case of sickness or death. Passage to Japan was frequently paid as a means of taking care of indigent older people who had relatives in that country. The mutual aid societies were an Issei undertaking, with very little Nisei support.

Much of the recreational activity of the Japanese communities centered around the prefectural societies composed of families originating in the same ken or state in Japan. The annual picnics of some of the larger ken societies were major social events. Considerable emphasis also was placed on marriage between young people whose parents originated in the same ken. The kenjinkai also served as a means of providing mutual aid. In 1937 a Nisei graduate student described these functions as follows:

"...the purpose of these associations is to promote friendship among the Japanese who came to America from their respective ken (prefecture), and to render mutual aid among themselves. ...recently many of the first generation became old, alone, and unemployed; some of them have no money for curing illness, and some die, leaving debts, and no relatives or friends to bury them. The number of destitutes is increasing, and usually they are assisted by kenjinkai." /4

Another set of institutions maintained by the Japanese communities were the Japanese language schools. These operated on a part time basis,

after regular school hours and on Saturday. To them were sent a large proportion of the Nisei children. The language schools were considered important as a means of teaching Japanese cultural values, and for providing a sufficient proficiency in the Japanese language to permit easy social intercourse between the first generation and the Nisei and for employment in Japanese business concerns. In these aims, the language schools were only partially successful.* They deprived the Nisei of the leisure time enjoyed by their Caucasian classmates in regular school, and the necessity of attendance was onerous to many.

As with many immigrant peoples, there was an intense interest in the scholastic attainments of the Nisei in the regular schools, and much emphasis was placed on continuation at secondary and college levels, even at great sacrifice on the part of Issei parents. The evidence is definite that the Issei wanted their children to secure a thorough understanding both of the language and customs of the United States as a means of fitting them for the competitive struggle of life here, and they looked to the American schools as a means to attain that end.**

In all of the larger centers of Japanese population, the community maintained an extensive vernacular press. In Seattle, for example, two daily Japanese language papers were published. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, the number of competing newspapers was even greater. Some printed a half page of news in English as a concession to the Nisei, but in all, the principal allocation of space was to material written in Japanese, and the influence of these papers lay almost entirely among the Issei.

*During the war, Army Military Intelligence estimated that not more than 15 percent of the Nisei spoke and less than five percent wrote the Japanese language sufficiently well to be useful to that organization without further general training. /5

**Without question, the public schools and universities of the West Coast States furnished the strongest point of Nisei contact with the larger American community. Nisei were not only accepted without discrimination, but participated freely in athletic and extra-curricular activity in addition to obtaining many scholastic and class honors.

The Japanese immigrants also brought their religious institutions with them, both Buddhist and Christian, but principally the former.* In the Buddhist churches, services were held in the Japanese tongue. There is little evidence, however, that the Buddhist churches were an important instrument of social control in the Japanese communities, except as concerned ethical matters. Before the war, something over half of those claiming a religious connection professed Buddhism. There is some evidence that the influence of this religion was gradually declining prior to the war.

The Japanese Christian churches were maintained for the Japanese alone, and these segregated institutions received strong support from the home mission societies of various American denominations. Lack

*A Nisei social scientist described the Buddhist program as follows:

"Once the churches were established in America, the Buddhists were forced to modify their practices drastically in order to fit their religion to American life. By 1940, Buddhism had changed so much that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish in many respects between Buddhist and Christian ways. The Buddhist marriage ceremony, for example, was almost identical with the Christian practice--beginning with Mendelssohn's Wedding March and including some rituals as the exchange of rings and the purification of the ring over the Buddhist holy book, when in Japan the Buddhist church had nothing to do with weddings whatsoever. The Buddhist services also included hymns which were entirely absent from religious worship in Japan. Such hymns were written by Caucasian Buddhists who recognized their necessity for adapting Buddhism to a Christian world.

"Furthermore, the Buddhists met on Sunday, a Christian holiday, but this was necessary since all other days were work days. Christmas gifts were exchanged by Buddhist children and special dances were sponsored during the Christmas holidays for the young Buddhists. Sunday schools were instituted for the children, and the Young Buddhist Association was set up after the pattern of the YMCA and YWCA to meet the recreational needs of Buddhist youths. Buddhist socials were known throughout the state of California as being far more effectively organized than those of Christians. As far as dances were concerned, the Japanese Buddhists accepted the American pattern far more readily than any Christian groups. Annual young people's conferences were held much along the line of the Christian youth conferences."/6

of ability to understand the English language was given as the principal reason for maintenance of separate churches, although as the number of Nisei grew, there were frequently two services, one held in Japanese and the other in English. There was a scattering of attendance in the regular churches of the west coast cities, but little evidence that many church leaders, either Japanese or Caucasian, advocated such participation.

Because the Japanese lived so closely together, one of the most effective controls was gossip and other forms of public censure which brought pressure on the family head to enforce conformity on the part of his family to accepted modes of behaviour. The basic control was to be found within the patriarchal family, with the authority of the father reinforced by the intimate concern of the rest of the community which brought its influence to bear both through informal means and by organized community institutions.

The high degree of social organization among the Japanese was of direct civic value to the larger community. Thus a report concerning Seattle, prepared in 1939 states:

"Juvenile delinquency rates among the Japanese...are extremely low despite their large percentage of residence within a zone of high adult criminality. This fact can be explained only by assuming either that Japanese community influences are particularly favorable for their children's character, or that cases of delinquency are handled within the group. In either circumstance we have a cogent argument showing group solidarity. Again, relief agencies in Seattle seldom have Japanese names on their records, although there are cases of dependency among these immigrants. The Japanese take pride in having agencies of their own to care for such people" /3a

The second generation was placed under compulsion to conform to the social pattern of their elders, but like other immigrant groups, the efforts of the first generation were only partially successful. The Nisei lived in a dual cultural situation, with the American schools providing an overwhelming counter force. Conflicts within the family began to develop. As the Nisei became older, their associations with Americans of other ancestries broadened and the conflicts became deeper. Suspended between two cultures, many Nisei were at ease in neither.

While this development was taking place, the Issei were finding that the amassing of wealth was not as easy as they had imagined, and the expectation of returning to Japan became more of a hope than a practical possibility. More and more, conflicts within the home came

to be resolved in favor of their American children. A study of Japanese immigrant families described this process as follows:

"The family continues to show a high degree of solidarity as long as the children are economically dependent. An emotional bond, developing spontaneously out of intimate personal contacts, holds the family members together. While the children are young the goods purchased are limited to those commodities having to do with the bare necessities of life. However, as the children become an important source of family income, there is a striking reorganization of the family expenditures. The children, who are educated in the American schools introduce new items in foods, and other new cultural artifacts--the radio, the piano, chairs, beds, books and magazines, even a whole new set of utensils and above all the automobile. All these new items borrowed from the American culture entail redefinition of the 'standard of living'. The conflict of economic values between the first and second generation become a recurrent phenomenon, since the first generation is more interested in thriftiness, while the second generation is spending." 7

All evidence points to the fact that in the decade before the war, the Issei were becoming more and more centered in the welfare of their children, and that they had come to realize that their children's future lay in America rather than Japan. In keeping with Japanese moral custom, they expected that the political loyalty of the children born in America would be given the land of their birth.) Nevertheless, the Issei parents continued to expect conformance to the code of filial piety, which gave the father the authority to make final decisions on questions of importance to members of his family including the choice of a mate when children were of marriageable age. The "good Nisei" was one who knew the Japanese language, remained an integral part of the family, and observed the traditional Japanese social graces at least while in company of his elders. It was frequently stated that if the Nisei would only be a "good Japanese" he would also be a "good American".

The emphasis on Japanese cultural values widened the gulf between the first and second generations. The basic aspirations of the Nisei were more and more those of the American community in which they partially participated. Their behavior, ideals, and standards of living more nearly fitted the pattern of American life. The question of marriage came more and more to be regarded by Nisei as a matter for personal decision. A relatively small number of Nisei, especially those whose parents lived away from the Little Tokyos, were finding most of their social outlets among Caucasian rather than

Nisei groups, and all had some friendly experience in the larger community. Much of this came in the public schools where Nisei were accepted on an equal basis. It may be stated generally that in their homes and in their contacts with young people of other background, the experience of the Nisei was very similar to that of the second generation of most immigrant groups.

The growing needs of the Nisei found slight representation in the instruments of social control maintained by their elders, and as early as 1918, a citizens organization known as the American Loyalty League was established in Fresno. The number of the second generation was small at that time, and this as well as similar efforts elsewhere were only partially successful. Out of these beginnings, however, grew the Japanese American Citizens League which was formally organized at a national convention held in Seattle in 1930. By the time of Pearl Harbor, the JACL claimed a membership of 7,000 in 50 chapters. This organization had as its aim the fostering of Americanization among the Nisei, as well as general concern for the needs of the second generation Japanese. Available evidence indicates that before the war it developed primarily along social and fraternal lines. It was given friendly tolerance by the Issei, but had only a small part in the affairs of the Japanese community.

By 1940, the second generation outnumbered the Issei nearly two to one, but in terms of social control, this proportion was deceptive since half the Nisei were still below the age of 21, and many of those who were older were still in school or were in a subordinate position in the working world. Thus data for Seattle indicates that immediately preceding the war, two out of three of the Japanese Americans, either self-employed or working for others, were Issei. Similarly, data for Los Angeles indicates that of approximately 8,000 families in Los Angeles, only in one out of five was the family head a Nisei. The Issei were anxious to have their sons trained to compete with members of the Caucasian community, but were unprepared to meet such competition themselves, and were quite unwilling to hand over economic control. Nevertheless, such competition was beginning. This also contributed to the growing disintegration of the Japanese community.

Added conflict within the group was fostered by the growing crisis in the Far East. The Issei, who depended mainly on vernacular sources of information, generally sympathized with Japan's conquest of China, while the Nisei, most of whom could read only the American press, generally shared the abhorrence of the general public.

Pressure placed upon the Issei to permit Nisei to conform to American standards continued as higher levels of education were reached,

and became even stronger as the latter became adults and began to gain experience in the political and economic life of the country. At the same time, however, Nisei aspirations to become fully Americans were checked by prejudice and discrimination, both in economic and social life, and they were confronted with the fact that economic opportunity lay largely within the control of the Japanese community. As expressed by one Nisei:

"We've been criticized for huddling together. We've been urged to spread out. When we tried, we were considered belligerent and arrogant. When a younger member tried to move out of prescribed area he is herded back." /1

In consequence, the prewar economic life of the Nisei became identified with the Japanese community. For the same reasons, their recreational activities were developed largely within their own group. The number of segregated social clubs and athletic organizations multiplied in profusion.

Thus, at the time of Pearl Harbor, the control of the first generation over the Nisei was being challenged. A process of disintegration within the Japanese family and community was well under way, but the Issei remained in a position of economic and social dominance and because of prejudice and discrimination in the larger community which affected the entire group, Issei and Nisei alike, there was a strong pressure from the outside which tended to reinforce Japanese community controls.

There can be no question that the tightness of social organization within the Japanese community bred antagonism and helped to foster the suspicion which led to the military decision to evacuate the group. Neither the first nor second generation Japanese Americans had become sufficiently a part of the American community to be able to go through the crisis of an attack by Japan with that community.

The evacuation destroyed the social organization of the Little Tokyos, both in terms of social control and of activity. As noted in an earlier chapter, there were many who hoped that the "Japanese problem" would be solved by the eventual deportation of all persons of Japanese descent. In addition to these, there were many friends of the Japanese Americans who, while entirely opposed to such a course, hoped that the Little Tokyos had been destroyed for good.

Postwar Social Adjustment

The previous chapters of this report have demonstrated that in many localities, the Little Tokyo communities have been revived as residential areas. In the following parts of this section, an attempt will be

made to indicate similarities and differences in the postwar social situation in these communities, as well as among Japanese Americans resettled elsewhere, using the framework developed in the preceding section as a basis of comparison. This presentation will be made under topical headings as follows: Residential segregation, Family relationships, Educational institutions, Economic organization, The vernacular press, Organization for social control, Organization for social advancement, Organization of veterans, Relations with other minorities, Religious institutions and activities, Recreational and social activities, and Social participation in the wider community.

Before proceeding, note should be taken that the process of evacuation and the experience of living in assembly and relocation centers has had a profound effect on the attitudes and beliefs of the Japanese American people and that a knowledge of these two phases of their wartime life is necessary to an understanding of their subsequent social behavior. Readers who have had access to the WRA final reports will be familiar with the detailed description of these two periods found in IMPOUNDED PEOPLE, Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers. To avoid repetition of material, others are directed to that source.

The process of relocation, also important to an understanding of postwar social adjustment, was briefly outlined in the first chapter.

Residential segregation. While dispersion of the Japanese Americans formerly resident on the west coast to all parts of the country is one of the most important social results of the evacuation, the postwar pattern of residence and business location bears some resemblance to that obtaining before the war.

In previous chapters, there has been discussion of the reasons for a degree of congregation in Chicago, the greater residential and business segregation of Denver and Salt Lake City and the sharply defined segregation of the west coast cities. In varying degree, we have seen that all of these situations were similar in that housing was generally more easy to obtain in depressed residential districts, and that there were outside pressures to prevent the expansion of the group to more favorable residential districts.

If the degree of residential and business segregation in the cities of the West Coast States were to be taken as the only criterion, it might be assumed that the prewar Little Tokyo communities were fully restored. Before such a conclusion can be reached, however, other factors must be considered.

Family relationships. The experience of evacuation, life in relocation centers and the process of relocation produced many cross currents which have affected family relationships. Although not unchallenged, the control of the father over the activities of his family remained substantial at the time of Pearl Harbor. Subsequent events greatly accelerated the disintegration of the patriarchal family arrangement. Conversely, family solidarity based on mutual regard and a feeling of obligation by Nisei to their parents has remained one of the important factors in determining the postwar adjustment pattern. Instances of irresponsibility toward the welfare of parents have been exceedingly rare. At the same time, in decisions concerning employment, where to live, and the like, the desires of the Nisei have had vastly more weight than would have been the case if the gradual process of development had been uninterrupted.

The immediate effect of the evacuation was to draw families together. Aliens and citizens alike had been segregated and placed under common hardship because they were of Japanese descent. They faced an uncertain future in which the most important element seemed the fact of their racial origin. Bewildered, they could find a source of strength in family relationships.

But as they became more secure after settling down in relocation centers, factors tending toward family disintegration began to take effect. Children were no longer economically dependent on their parents. Indeed, many of them had a higher rate of earnings from employment as stenographers or clerks at the intermediate salary of \$16 a month, while their fathers were employed as agricultural laborers at the basic rate of \$12. In addition, there was no longer the unifying experience of family meals; all stood in line at the block mess hall, and more frequently children ate with others of their own age rather than with their parents. The means of enforcing family decisions were lacking. There was the not infrequent retort from adolescents: "I don't owe you anything. The Government is taking care of me."

As the program of relocation developed, more mature Nisei usually left the centers before their parents, and consequently had more time for adjustment in their new communities. The Issei, feeling strongly their status as enemy aliens left the centers more slowly. Those that did eventually join their Nisei children expected the latter to assume most of the family responsibility for locating living quarters, for securing employment, for acting as breadwinner during the initial period and in general for looking after the family interests. As noted in the introductory chapter, when the west coast exclusion area was reopened in January of 1945, only 6,000 or about one in six of the evacuated Issei had left the centers. A considerable proportion of

the Issei who relocated in 1945 returned to their original homes. Thus families which had been divided by the relocation of the Nisei became even more widely scattered with the closing of the centers. In not a few cases, sons and daughters have returned to the west coast to aid the family. Numerous factors entered into the determination whether the children should return or ask their parents to join them. In cases where investments have been made or a high level of employment attained in the East, the tendency has been for the parents to join them there. On the other hand, many Nisei less well employed or with economic roots not so firmly set have returned to take care of their parents. The feeling of obligation has remained strong, whatever the solution finally worked out. Thus a Nisei remarked:

"I don't believe that we can very well forget our Issei parents and leave them to take care of themselves. After all they've worked hard to bring us up. It is our solemn duty to look after them now that they are unable to work." /1

Concerning another 27 year old Nisei, a field interviewer reported:

"He spent two years in Chicago and feels that there are better opportunities for advancement economically as well as socially in the East. Yet he went back because of his parents." /1

An inquiry directed to officials in charge of the Rancho de los Amigos, an old peoples home near Los Angeles where a number of indigent Issei are living, brought the reply that few, if any, Japanese in residence had children who might assume responsibility.

In most cases the need for the Nisei to return to their original homes has not been so much the requirement that they support their parents, as that they be on hand to assist with adjustments, particularly to stand between the parents and the Caucasian community. The Issei are still willing to work, and as we have seen earlier, opportunities for well paying employment have not been lacking.

In addition, whatever capital has been retained after evacuation is very largely in Issei hands. In a number of cases, the Issei have assisted their Nisei children in setting up a small business in which both could work. By this means the Nisei is able to acquire necessary capital and to make use of his parent's greater business experience, while the Issei have benefited from the ability of his children to use the English language, and from their status as citizens of the United States.

This relationship was well stated by a Los Angeles Issei businessman in answer to a question about the difficulties of opening a post-war business:

"It is much easier. The reason for that is the fact that the Japanese are actually two groups, the Issei and the Nisei. When we first came over, there was just the Issei and we had a difficult time. Everytime we wanted to go into business, or tried to get licenses, property, or got into a problem, we would be told...that there was no business and that would be all. We didn't know what to do after that. But now, the Nisei, although they still have Japanese faces, can understand English, and the Caucasians will refer them to some other agency who will take care of us. In other words, the Nisei are making it much easier because they know enough themselves to ask questions, and they have made themselves known, and respected by the Caucasians so that they will not brush us off anymore." /1

The factor of primary importance in Issei-Nisei relationships is that the citizen generation are no longer so dependent economically on their elders. The economic institutions of the prewar Little Tokyos have not been revived. Business relationships are entered in a **spirit** of partnership rather than of domination of Nisei by Issei, as was true before Pearl Harbor. If, because of restrictions on gaining citizenship, and a vague desire to return eventually to his homeland, the Issei had one foot in Japan prior to the war, the outcome of the war has been to place his future irretrievably in America. They have no choice but to look to their citizen children for that future. The would-be Issei patriarch is faced by a dilemma for which there is only one practical solution. Intensive pride in the Nisei military record and in the success with which Nisei are competing in the wider community has served to make the loss of status more palatable.

Not only are the Issei more dependent on their children since the war, the prestige of the father has been weakened farther by the fact that many of the Issei women, now relieved of the responsibility of caring for small children, have been able to secure well paying employment, and in many cases have an income greater than that of their husbands.

Further weakening direct family control, a number of families **have** of necessity been forced to live in separate quarters, with control over younger children becoming more and more tenuous. With the intense drive for income of the first year of relocation, there has been little possibility for development of the more subtle forms of social control, mentioned in the prewar section of the chapter. There has been little or no attempt in postwar Japanese communities to define the role or obligations of its members, or for gossip to play the powerful part it has in forcing conformity before the war. Everyone has similar problems, and it is easier to rationalize misbehavior and

the looseness of family ties as shikata-ga-nai (it can't be helped.)

In marriage, there is an increasing tendency for the Nisei to select their own mate. In announcing a wedding, the name of a go-between is usually listed, but in most cases, this is an afterthought to please the parents and Issei friends. Of fundamental importance to the Japanese social system, the institution of arranged marriages is very nearly out of the picture as far as Nisei are concerned.

As the Nisei have matured, their primary family interest has come to lodge with their own children, much in the general American pattern. The form in which Nisei concern for their parents is expressed may contain some elements of traditional Japanese culture, as for example, a greater obligation toward parents felt by the eldest son, but the gap between the practices and attitudes of a modern Nisei household, and the home of their own childhood has become exceedingly wide.

As the second American generation, the Sansei, come along, the differences in family structure will become even wider. The Sansei will be brought up in families where English is the customary language and where American customs are generally practiced. Their experience of cultural conflict, which was a part of their Nisei parents early life, will be slight. If not confronted with prejudice and discrimination, the pattern of their development can be expected to take a course similar to that of other Americans whose grandparents immigrated to this country.

Educational institutions. None of the community managed Japanese language schools have been reopened, and at present classroom instruction in the Japanese tongue can be secured only at the college level or through enlistment in the Army and assignment to the Military Intelligence Language School located at Monterey, California.

During the war, the interest of Japanese Americans in general education did not slacken. Primary and secondary schooling was furnished in relocation centers. As noted elsewhere, college students were among the first to leave the centers. Acceptance followed the prewar pattern, with much favorable attention to Nisei students, not a few of whom were elected to campus offices. Figures released by the National Student Relocation Council, a private organization formed to aid college students among the evacuees, show that from the time of evacuation up to July 1946, college and university enrollment of Japanese American students totaled 5,522 in 550 institutions of higher learning. /8

Economic organization. Only a few of the prewar business and professional associations have been revived, and of these, only the Southern California Flower Growers Association, described in a previous chapter, has attained appreciable strength. As business undertakings become better established, it is probable that the number of such associations will grow, but for the present, emphasis is on individual enterprise with little attention to group control of business practice or activity.

A second cause of lack of economic organization may be found in a lingering doubt among some Issei concerning the capability of the citizen generation which, of necessity, would have to be given a place of importance in such organization. A report from the Santa Clara Valley illustrates this feeling:

"Mr. O stated that the leadership of the Japanese community should now pass to the Nisei, but when I asked him what promising leaders he saw among the Nisei, he could name but one or two, after long thought. At another point in the conversation he said that the most promising leader in the valley was a young Issei.

"He commented that the Nisei were 'too young' to assume much leadership. He was asked how old he was when he became secretary of the Japanese association. He got the point and smiled. 'I was 25' he said. He went on with some other items: He was 20 when he came to America; 22 when he leased a 25-acre orchard in the Santa Cruz mountains; 29 when he helped organize the Berry Growers Association; 33 when he purchased a cannery (but found it impossible to compete with another concern); 35 when he started his vegetable shipping concern. 'Issei were alone when they came from Japan. They had to take care of themselves. Nisei depend on their parents. I sometimes tell my sons that when I was their age, I was doing this and that, but they only laugh.' " 1

Mr. O. represents the feeling of a segment of the prewar Issei leadership which recognizes the inevitability of the shift of business initiative to Nisei, but who for the present are unable to bring themselves to give way to their children whom they like to consider immature and untried.

As with business associations, the prewar mutual aid societies are no longer a factor in the postwar Japanese American communities. The only known instance of mutual aid on the prewar pattern in-

volved a small group of Los Angeles gardeners who met once a month to pool savings to permit its members to purchase homes. On an individual basis, the practice of bringing small gifts of money to funerals to help defray expenses was noted in a number of instances. This follows a common prewar practice, but the custom appeared to be carried out on a much more haphazard basis.

As far as is known, none of the ken societies have been re-organized; while collections are occasionally made among people of the same ken to aid one in difficult circumstances or to help with funeral expenses, this has not been done on an organized basis.

Among the Nisei, the present pattern of aid to the indigent, other than immediate relatives, is through referral to the regular welfare authorities.

The vernacular press. Publication of all of the west coast vernacular newspapers had been suspended by the time of the evacuation. During the war, one language paper in Salt Lake City and two in Denver were permitted to publish under close supervision, and these had wide circulation in the relocation centers. After the war was over, daily vernaculars were reestablished in Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Chicago, and New York City, with two in San Francisco. None, however, have attained their prewar circulation or strength in the community.

Organization for social control. Issei dominated organizations of social control such as the Japanese associations and prefectural societies have been conspicuously missing in the postwar Japanese communities. The intense drive for economic security, fear of investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and self-consciousness arising from the fact that the country of their birth was at war with the United States, and was defeated, has caused Issei leadership to remain quiet or to channel its efforts toward less conspicuously alien lines of activity.

The drive for economic security has already been discussed in the chapter concerned with economic adjustment. Waking hours are spent in earning a livelihood which leaves little time for friendly visits and recreation, much less the rebuilding of community organization. While extreme emphasis on economic security is less noticeable in midwestern and eastern communities where relocation took place earlier, in western cities such as Los Angeles, it has been a principal concern.

In addition to the pressure of work which has prevented many leaders from organizational activity, the constant awareness of being watched by the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the early days of the war has served to discourage activity in the postwar period as well. Many of the leaders were interned at the beginning of the war, which they believe was a result of their leadership in the Japanese community. With the defeat of Japan, they have a conscious feeling of having lost status. In a number of instances this has been confirmed by official action, as for example in Seattle, when a request for the unfreezing of the Japanese Association funds brought a reprimand from the United States Attorney. This was accepted as the official attitude on such matters. It led to the comment of a prominent Seattle Issei:

"The government apparently feels that we Issei have no rights in this country. As things stand, we are helpless to do anything to help the people of the community." /1

In regard to being conscious of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a minister in Los Angeles stated:

"People want to establish themselves economically. But there is another important thing. The war is not officially over. The FBI is constantly watching, not individuals, but organizations. The only Issei organization in existence, probably is the Church Federation. We received permission from the FBI to organize ... You see, we don't want to cause any further trouble." /1

Some postwar outlets for leadership have been found in drives for relief to be sent to Japan, sponsored by American church groups with official sanction, and in assisting with testimonial dinners for Nisei veterans and for Caucasians who actively aided the evacuees during the war and resettlement period.

Lack of an organized means of expressing the needs of the Japanese in their communities, and of making contributions to the wider community through organized means has bothered many of the older Issei. In Seattle, for example, when a dirt slide partially obstructed a street in the Japanese business section, a former member of the Japanese Association spoke of the difficulty of forcefully presenting the need for clean-up to the City Street Commission:

"It would be a good thing to have a petition with all the business people in the district attach their names to it, but I can't go around by myself to get the signatures. We need to have some kind of community organization in the Japanese community to handle problems like that." /1

In matters such as donations to the Community Chest or Red Cross, the absence of the Japanese associations prevents group giving and credit taking, a fact which further contributes to the feeling of loss of status in the wider community. The Seattle resident quoted above mentioned his own experience in this regard:

"At the time of the Community Chest Drive, we received a letter requesting a pledge through the mail. But I thought there would be someone coming around to collect from us as they've always done in the past, and since it seemed better to contribute to the Japanese community drive, we kept waiting for someone to come around. We waited for quite a while, and when no one came, we decided we'd better send in something so we sent our contribution through the mail. Many people were in the same situation and lots of them didn't contribute because they kept waiting and nothing happened. We have to have an organization when there's a job like that to be done." /1

In part the activities previously fostered by the Japanese associations have been carried out through other channels such as Resettlement Committees and the Japanese American Citizens League. In both the latter cases, the type of activity differs materially from that of before the war.

The Resettlement Committee which has remained most active, that located in Chicago, is supported partially through the Community Chest

and is led by mature Nisei. It has become greatly interested in a recreational program as a means of combating juvenile delinquency and serves Japanese Americans generally as a place where information can be secured and referral made. In some respects, it has become a go-between, representing the Japanese Americans of Chicago in civic affairs and interpreting the larger community to the Issei and Nisei. In these activities, it bears some resemblance to prewar community organization. It is noteworthy, however, that the few cases of hardship which have come to its attention have been referred to regular welfare channels. Its leadership is Nisei rather than Issei, and it makes no attempt to regulate the conduct of the Japanese community in Chicago. As an instrument of social control it bears but faint resemblance to the prewar Japanese Association.

The Japanese American Citizens League has assumed broad leadership in such matters as securing the privilege of naturalization for Japanese aliens, in promoting legislation to establish an evacuee claims commission and to permit administrative discretion in hardship deportation cases, and in the preparation of the Oyama alien land law case for presentation to the United States Supreme Court. These are matters which would have engaged the attention of the prewar Japanese Associations, but are now being handled by the citizen generation. As with the Chicago Resettlement Committee, the JACL function is one of service rather than of social control. In this latter respect, it bears no resemblance to the prewar Japanese association.

Organization for social advancement. The task of finding a solution to problems peculiar to the Japanese American group, such as those enumerated in the paragraph just above, has been assumed by the Japanese American Citizens League and its affiliated Anti-Discrimination Committee. From the beginning of the war, the JACL has been the only Japanese American organization of national scope, and since it has no effective rivals within the group for leadership in these matters, the history of the postwar development of organized means to secure relief from restrictive legislation is very closely the story of the JACL.

Between Pearl Harbor and the evacuation, JACL membership increased from 7,000 to 21,000, and the number of chapters from 50 to 66. This phenomenal growth resulted from the desire of Nisei to become identified with an organization whose loyalties and character were unquestionably American. The JACL offered this identification and some measure of security during the period when suspicion was being placed on anything Japanese in nature. As the only active remaining Japanese American organization, it also served as one means by which the decisions of the Army were transmitted to the group.

When the evacuation was ordered, the JACL urged all Japanese Americans to submit peacefully and cooperatively as the group's "special contribution to the war effort," even though as an organization it stated its disapproval of the evacuation itself. This stand in favor of peaceful submission to evacuation, plus the fact that citizens were included in the order, brought a sharp reaction. The story got about that the JACL had "approved the evacuation," that its leaders had "sold out the Japanese." The fact that the evacuation order was first made known to the group in Los Angeles through JACL channels gave apparent substance to these beliefs. In extreme form, a few claimed that the JACL was itself responsible for the evacuation, as some hinted, "to let the Nisei take over from the Issei for a few cents on the dollar." By the time the people were in relocation centers, the organization was largely repudiated. Its membership fell to about 2,000. Some of its officials, including the national president, Saburo Kido, suffered violence and had to be removed from the centers.

This reaction in large part resulted from the bitter frustration of the evacuation experience, but a second factor was of almost equal importance - the JACL was thrust into a position of leadership for which it had practically no preparation. As we have seen, it was the Issei dominated Japanese associations that spoke for the community before the war. Within a matter of days after Pearl Harbor, officers of the Japanese associations were placed in internment by the Department of Justice, and the community was left without its recognized leaders. The task of stepping into this leadership vacuum in the midst of the evacuation crisis placed too heavy a load on the immature and inexperienced volunteer local officers of the JACL. Inability to measure up to the needs of the evacuation period added to the bitterness of antagonism against the organization.

While the activities of the JACL were greatly curtailed after the evacuation, it was able to maintain its publication, The Pacific Citizen, and to support a few active leaders through the national office which had been transferred to Salt Lake City from San Francisco. In spite of its failure at the time of evacuation, the JACL became the only going Japanese American organization through which concern for the welfare of the evacuated people could be expressed.

The first attempt to take stock and reorient the organization was made at a conference held during November 1942 at Salt Lake City. In describing the atmosphere and intent of the conference, a columnist for the Pacific Citizen commented:

"It is an intense, serious, vital series of meetings having to do with the destinies of 110,000 human beings, being conducted on a marathon day and night schedule.

"If it took December 7 to snatch the swaddling clothes off the JACL as some, rightly or wrongly, claim, surely a new social consciousness has come over its leaders and the organization has reached adult stature during the tribulations of the past few months.

"Most of the leaders are looking forward to a new and perhaps the League's greatest task, from a more practical, mature and reasoned viewpoint than ever before." /9

The National office of the JACL functioned throughout the war as a spokesman for the problems of the evacuated people, although it could not claim to represent them directly. Very early in the war, the Nisei were placed in an ineligible classification by the Selective Service System, and strong issue was taken with this ruling.* When the Army opened its ranks to volunteers, the JACL actively supported the forming of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. From time to time, JACL National officers sought and secured audience with high officials of the Department of War, Department of Justice, and of the War Relocation Authority, thus being given an opportunity to present Japanese American needs to Federal officials at a policy level, and to serve as an authoritative vehicle of information to the evacuated people. The JACL leadership was also concerned with public relations at the community level, and was successful in securing as sponsors a considerable number of persons prominent in national affairs.

*Early in 1947, Saburo Kido, wartime national president of the JACL was presented the Selective Service Medal and Certificate of Merit - "In recognition of patriotic and meritorious services to the Selective Service System without compensation during the period 1941-1946." The citation specified: "As National President of the Japanese American Citizens League, he rendered great assistance to the Selective Service System in presenting various problems confronting Japanese American registrants, and was a most important influence in convincing such registrants of the purpose of the Selective Service System to operate without discrimination against them, and assisted in securing an extraordinary degree of cooperation under most difficult circumstances." /10

As an organization, the JACL successfully weathered the trials of the war period, having gained considerable prestige among officials and interested persons outside the Japanese American group, but without mass support within its group. Its strength lay in the ability of a small number of leaders to correctly analyze and interpret a swiftly changing social situation, but in a literal sense it was a head without a body. Japanese Americans generally were antagonistic or fearful of attracting attention through organization.

In addition, during 1945 and early 1946, Japanese Americans generally were too busy with the adjustments required by the closing of the relocation centers to give much attention to long range issues. By the summer of 1946, however, concern was growing with regard to Alien Land Law cases brought before California Courts, and the United States Congress was considering legislation seeking to grant the privilege of citizenship to Japanese aliens and to set up a Claims Commission. The National JACL office worked vigorously for these measures, but was hampered by lack of mass support among Japanese Americans and by the newness and inexperience of local leadership in the few chapters that had been reconstituted.

As the status of Japanese Americans in the community strengthened, they became less concerned about segregated organization and the Nisei especially began to come together to discuss mutual problems. The realization began to crystallize that the questions mentioned above were the primary issues affecting Japanese Americans as a **group** and as the need for an effective national channel to focus efforts toward finding a solution became apparent, the national JACL launched an expansion program on the basis of its wartime and postwar record of leadership.*

* JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE -- A STATEMENT OF POLICY,
January 1947

The Japanese American Citizens League is in existence because there are problems and adjustments which are peculiar to Americans of Japanese ancestry. The term "Japanese American" in the name of the organization is used merely to identify the problems, not identify the constituency or to describe the organization. Moreover, the designation "Japanese American" does not limit the membership of the organization exclusively to Japanese Americans. On the contrary, we encourage and solicit other Americans to join with us for we need them to build the strongest possible organization. We believe that as we work for the solution of the problems peculiar to

While the drive for additional membership has been only moderately successful - by the end of 1947 a total membership of 7,000 in 50 chapters was claimed, substantially the prewar figure - the recognition of the JACL as the organization through which group problems should be worked out was virtually complete. A second notable development is that in contrast to the prewar JACL which had chapters only in the West Coast and Intermountain States, the organization is now national in scope with chapters in Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Ann Arbor, Detroit, New York City, Philadelphia, Seabrook Farms, and Washington, D. C., as well as in the principal cities of the Intermountain and West Coast states.

Illustrative of changing attitudes toward organization is the

our own minority group, we are helping constructively thereby to solve the total problems of all minorities.

We are often asked, "Why does not JACL take a stand upon important issues other than just those which affect Japanese Americans and other groups as racial minorities?" Our basic premise is that when we start taking stands as an organization upon other matters, we begin to set ourselves apart as a group. Upon such issues we believe that our individual members should express themselves as individual Americans and join actively with whatever groups and organizations in their communities best express their own thinking and points of view. Moreover, the membership of JACL is made up of various individuals with differing viewpoints. To take stands upon issues where opinions are divided would be to create disunity among our group. We hold, however, that all of our membership can go along and work together upon the basic problems which affect people of Japanese ancestry.

When the time comes when we Americans of Japanese ancestry face only those problems which are no different from those faced by all other Americans, then JACL will have served its purpose and can be liquidated. In the meantime, we pledge and devote ourselves and our efforts to the hastening of that day. /ll

Note: For a comprehensive statement of the JACL analysis of problems confronting Japanese Americans, see Appendix B, "Statement of Mike Masaoka, national legislative director of the Japanese American Citizens League Anti-Discrimination Committee, Inc., before the President's Civil Rights Committee, May 1st, 1947."

following account taken from the August 31, 1946, issue of the Pacific Citizen:

"The recent organization of a JACL chapter in Washington underlines the fact that attitudes and complexes among the Nisei have undergone some big changes in the last year or so.

"A move to form a chapter here during the war years would have gotten no support. In fact, there would have been a violent opposition to any group which tried to move in that direction.

"This was due to several factors. There was widespread feeling that if a chapter were organized it would be the target of attack and investigation...The local office of the national JACL ... was raided on several occasions by the Dies Committee ... In succeeding months, a local newspaper carried vicious accounts of Nisei, one of which concerned the 'infiltration of Japs' from the relocation centers into the federal government.

"The effect of all this on the Nisei was tragic. They developed a strong yellow press complex, and tabooed the JACL and any other Nisei organization. This was understandable to some extent as most of the Nisei in Washington were government employees who had to submit to microscopic investigations before they could get on the federal payroll, and they felt that being active members of an organization like the JACL which was under constant congressional fire would jeopardize the position of all Nisei in Civil Service.

"However, in the latter part of 1944, when the need became acute for a Nisei group to aid the large number of newcomers, steps were taken to form a Nisei council. The proviso was that it would only be for social, educational and philanthropic purposes. There was some objection to its formation, to be sure, but it received sufficient popular support when it was agreed that the council would function closely with the local Citizens Committee.

"The next step in the local Nisei's emergence from their shell of caution and uneasiness was the formation of the USO Junior Hostess Club. This group of girls, through the efficient manner in which it entertained thousands of

Nisei GI's and served the community as a whole, demonstrated the value and need of a well-directed organization, and paved the way for the eventual formation of a group which would embrace all the local Nisei - the JACL.

"The Nisei cannot escape from the fundamental fact that Nisei in any community will not be effective and productive unless they organize. They must realize that no matter how self-sufficient some of them may feel at times, they are a part of a minority who must fight to safeguard their rights as citizens and that the vigor of their fight is derived to a large extent from unity and coordination."

There is, however, direct opposition to the view stated in the paragraph just above, which has a bearing on the membership and activity of the JACL. Reluctance to become identified with it does not necessarily mean opposition to the specific organization. There are a good many among the Japanese Americans who feel their most effective course is to call as little attention to themselves as possible. This widely held attitude was well stated to a field interviewer by an older Nisei during the course of a meeting at Rocky Ford, Colorado in November of 1946:

"What's the purpose of conducting studies of the Japanese people in the United States. I remember ever since the evacuation, all kinds of organizations have been making studies of us ... I don't think it does any good. It only makes the Japanese more prominent in the eyes of the people. I don't think we ought to talk too much about the Japanese ... I remember the Pacific Citizen which we used to see while we were overseas. It always talked about how good the Japanese were. Every time we Nisei soldiers saw the paper, we said to each other, 'Well, the JACL again says that the Nisei are the best bunch of people in the world.'

"I think if we publicize the Nisei too much the Caucasian public is going to get tired of it, and will begin to hate us ... I don't think we ought to play up all the little discriminations the Japanese are experiencing. Some of them I think we can simply forget ... Sure we can press some cases into court, but we ought to do it only once or so. Make it a big court fight, put a lot of money in the case, but once it is over we ought to forget it and not continue to press cases into the court over

and over again." /1.

The facilities for field interviewing were not such as to permit an attempt to measure the extent of support within the group for either of these two opposing views concerning the value of an organized approach to specific Japanese American problems. In the dynamic social situation in which Japanese Americans find themselves, support for one approach or the other will undoubtedly fluctuate with the apparent success of the particular means used. It can be positively stated, however, that there is uncertainty within the group, and that this lack of sureness concerning an effective approach to the group's special problems does contribute to the general unsettled feeling among Japanese Americans.

In spite of the bold program undertaken nationally, in most communities the local JACL is still largely a social and fraternal organization. Business meetings attract very few Nisei, while social gatherings may bring out the total membership. This lack of interest is indicated in a comment made by a Nisei in Denver. He stated:

"The Denver JACL is rather inactive. They have a membership of close to 350, but very few attend the meetings. The last meeting I attended there were only about 30 ... I don't know why the Nisei don't take more interest in the organization." /1

Similarly, the situation as of February 1947 in Los Angeles is described:

"Membership is now up to some 175 or so, though most of the public meetings rarely attract more than 50." /1

That such apparent unconcern has been disturbing to the national leadership, is indicated in a statement by Mike Masaoka in the Pacific Citizen:

"Some Nisei feel it is none of their problem, and so why should they poke their nose into the legislation. Why get worked up about the naturalization bill? The Issei are old, and they'll all be dead in a few years, and then there won't be any need for any naturalization bill.

"By being indifferent to the legislative program and by failing to support those who are fighting their battles for them, Nisei are letting down the people who have

stood by them...It is these people the Nisei are letting down by their apathy. It is these people who are being left with the task of finishing the job for the Nisei, while the Nisei themselves settle back and watch." /12

The more mature Nisei are at an age when foundations of careers are being laid down and the requirements of a growing family are most insistent; few have the time to devote to outside activities, even though they may consider them important.

Moreover, at least half of the present chapters of the JACL were formed during the second part of 1946 and it is still too early to judge its program at a local level. Concerning the membership of one local west coast chapter, an observer noted:

"They are clumsy social engineers, but with an obligation to represent the group." /1

Up to the present, the JACL has had one notable success, participation in the defeat in the 1946 California elections of the initiative measure to validate the Alien Land Laws of that state. As noted in the section of Chapter II dealing with Alien Land Laws, the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the JACL conducted a statewide campaign opposing these amendments.

One effect of this campaign and of efforts to relieve other legislative restrictions has been a better understanding and a closer working relationship between the Issei and Nisei. Thus, one of the former remarked:

"The information made available through the vernacular papers have made the Issei conscious of the need for an organ to keep them informed on the program of various **actions taken by the government.** They have been made aware of the necessity for citizenship, and for the defeat of Proposition 15 ... The Issei, knowing that they cannot participate as full members, contribute to the fund as a working capital...." /1

As he mentioned, Issei have been barred from active participation in the JACL because they are not citizens. However, the Issei are eligible to become supporting or contributing members of the Anti-Discrimination Committee. Their main function has been to give financial support to cover the legal fees and operational expenses of the committee. That interest among Issei has been created and their full support thrown to the JACL is indicated in a telegram sent to Mike

Masaoka, the National Director of Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington by a supporting Issei organization in California. It stated:

"Enthusiasm generated to realize local budget at committee meeting. Am delegated to assure you we intend to make goal. Appreciate your efforts. Intending to gain full support here."/1

In speaking of the willingness of Issei to assume a secondary supporting role, an Issei in Denver remarked:

"It is Nisei like you who must take the lead from now on. We Issei are old now and it won't be too long before we will have passed from this world. The Issei is definitely over now. We must follow the Nisei and take their advice."/1

In regard to the changing attitude of Issei concerning their role in community organization, a Nisei related:

"An Issei friend of mine, Mr. A., who used to run a big cleaning establishment in Los Angeles, was interned and when he returned I talked to him. He was bitter against the JACL before the war, but he told me that all Japanese ought to support the JACL as there would be no more Japanese associations. When I heard him speak favorably of the JACL, I felt I had no right to hold any grudges against the JACL. I was never put to any hardship as he was...I felt that during the war the JACL did some good for the Japanese...I think the Japanese throughout the country ought to support it, as it is the only national organization."/1

As the Issei have accepted Nisei leadership, the Nisei have come more and more to the acceptance of Issei advice and counsel as well as financial support. Thus, in speaking of the needs for Issei cooperation, a JACL leader of Los Angeles publicly remarked:

"We need Issei thinking even though they are not eligible for membership in the JACL. We Nisei are still young and need mature judgment which only the Issei can offer. We need your financial support."/1

Emphasis of the JACL program through its Anti-Discriminating Committee thus far has been largely restricted to gaining social and economic security through political action. If the JACL found precedent for this phase of activity in the work of prewar Japanese associations,

it has not developed as an instrument to enforce the decisions of the community in matters of behavior or with reference to Japanese culture.

In addition to the JACL, the Japanese American Committee for Democracy, an organization with most of its membership in New York City, has been concerned with the same basic issues. It has also indicated considerable interest in the liberal movement in Japan, having among its members a number of political refugees from that country. The JACD has had but small influence away from New York.

Organization of veterans. Including Nisei from Hawaii, approximately 23,000 Japanese Americans had wartime service in the armed forces, and all but a few of these have since received their discharge.* About half that total were recruited in the mainland United States. Up to the present, the number of Nisei veterans who have participated in veteran's organizations has been relatively small. There is an apparent feeling among many Nisei veterans that they have met their obligation for service, and that work toward solution of special Japanese American problems should be taken up by others. Like other veterans they have individual problems of adjustment to which they wish to devote their full energies. There is, moreover, considerable indecision among those interested in group action whether the Nisei should seek membership in going national veterans organizations as individuals, or in segregated posts, or whether an entirely new organization should be set up.

All the major veterans organizations have as national policy the acceptance of Nisei as individual members. With one exception, they are likewise willing to permit the establishment of segregated posts. Locally there has been some variation of policy, with a few instances of racial rejection, and some of a direct appeal for Nisei membership. In commenting on the lack of interest in national veterans organizations, a columnist for the Pacific Citizen suggested:

"It is understandable perhaps, that Nisei GI's in particular are wary of veterans organization, for the Legion, VFW, and the Disabled American Veterans have discriminated, in the past, against members of the group on the basis of race and ancestry. Some discrimination still exists in old line groups at the

*Official Army records released to the JACL in May of 1947, and carried in the Pacific Citizen of May 17, show that a total of 33,330 persons of Japanese ancestry had served in the wartime and postwar Army of the United States, up to that time. Of these 40 were Japanese aliens.

local level, although national officers of the Legion and the VFW have condemned such discrimination. The sorriest example of veterans bigotry is the continued refusal of the Spokane VFW to accept Nisei members, although only a few of its members countenance the restrictive policy."/13

Indicative of the lack of uniformity in local policy is an appeal carried in an article in the Utah Nippo (Salt Lake City) of November 6, 1946:

"Salt Lake City's Atomic Post No. 4355, Veterans of Foreign Wars, this week unanimously went on record 'to encourage and solicit Japanese American veterans of overseas service to become members of this great American organization'.

"The resolution noted 'there has been a conspicuous absence of Japanese American veterans of this war on Veterans of Foreign Wars memberships' and declared 'there have been groundless rumors of discrimination in our ranks.'"

As mentioned earlier, this post later took the lead in the successful effort to secure the repeal of the Utah Alien Land Law.

A similar lead was taken by the VFW in Northern California. As reported in the May 31, 1947 issue of the Pacific Citizen:

"Sacramento--The Golden Poppy Council of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, comprising 34 posts in northern California, unanimously requested on May 26 that Governor Warren strike out the Alien Land Law enforcement fund of \$75,180 from the state budget.

"Japanese American veterans by their exemplary war record have earned deserved justice for themselves and their families', the VFW communication to Governor Warren stated. 'No other class of citizens or veterans is being thus penalized because of ancestral origin. Forward-looking Californians concur with us that class legislation of this type must be wiped out.'"

Non-veteran Japanese Americans do look to the Nisei with military service records to take the lead in efforts to better the position of their group. Thus a Nisei leader of national prominence among them stated:

"We have run across many types of Nisei GIs. Most of them are retiring, not even having the interest to join the various veteran's organizations. This is most deplorable because these men are in the best position to speak up for all Nisei and persons of Japanese ancestry. It seems to us that the sacrifice made by donning a uniform will have been in vain unless the Nisei GIs transform themselves for the cause of eliminating racial intolerance and prejudice.

"We are looking forward to the Nisei GIs assuming the leadership of their own communities. We hope to see more and more cast aside their indifference or modesty and become crusaders for a cause--a more tolerant America with equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed, or ancestry."/14

A number of segregated posts of national veterans organizations have been established. The first to include Japanese Americans was the Cathay Post of the American Legion in Denver which was set up early in 1946 by Chinese American and Japanese American veterans. An interview with one of its Nisei officers provides a strong statement of the viewpoint of those favoring segregated organization:

"Hank went into a long spiel defending his segregated Nisei veterans' organization, and was bitter toward those who criticized his outfit on the basis that it was segregated and consequently bad in the long run. He was adamant in his belief that the Nisei, veterans or non-veterans, must unite in a body to fight off discrimination and to advance themselves. He is thoroughly convinced that this is the only course the Nisei can follow. Some pertinent remarks he made are as follows:

"One Nisei veteran is a member of the American Legion Post No. 1 here. It is the leading Caucasian Legion Post around here. He told us, we're segregating ourselves and that this was bad. Just because he's a member of a Caucasian outfit doesn't mean much. He doesn't mix in with the Caucasian members. They don't accept him on an equal basis. Sure, when he goes to the regular meeting, they pat him on the shoulders and say hello, but outside the meeting he is a stranger to the rest. Where does that put him. If I am going to be a member of any organization I want to feel that I'm the equal with the rest and I want to be treated as a friend not only at the meeting but outside the meeting.

"We get to meet more big shot Caucasians than he can being a member of a Caucasian outfit. For instance, the Lieutenant Governor of the state has dropped in to see us; the attorney general of the state has invited us; the city judge knows us well. Lot of other big shot Caucasians visited us or know us well. Now, the sole reason why we have been able to meet these big shots has been that we have a segregated post. They all know us better this way. We would never have been able to meet if we were simply members of a Caucasian post.

"Sure they accept you in the Caucasian organization, but they don't want to associate with you outside the meetings.

"We have some Caucasians in our post. I told them this. If they wanted to join our post they must be willing to mix in with the rest of us freely. I want them to be willing to visit me at my home and meet my family, and I want to be able to visit them and their families. At a dance I want them to be willing to dance with my sister and I want to be able to dance with their sisters. I'm not asking them to let me marry their sisters. No, I just want them to accept me and the other Nisei as real friends.

"Lots of the Nisei and Issei don't like our post because it's segregated, and that it has both Nisei and Chinese. They don't realize that we can do more good by being segregated than just joining a Caucasian outfit.

"Now you take L. Dance hall. One of our boys was turned away from the dance. I called the manager and just told him. I also called the leaders of the local Legion Post, and they promised to help us. Now they're letting Nisei in the dance hall. Why? Because as an American Legion Post we have a powerful voice.

"I know Judge R. well. He told me that we Nisei got to fight for our rights if we want to get anywhere. He told me if we didn't we wouldn't get anything. Furthermore he stated, if we didn't he didn't want to know us as his friends.

"The Nisei around here are too contented. They don't care to protect their rights or fight for them." /1

In the other extreme, however, a Nisei veteran of 23 months in the Pacific in a letter to the headquarters of a national veterans organization stated the following view concerning the formation of segregated posts:

"I understand you are attempting to create a separate Post for Nisei ex-servicemen of World War II. I think this move is un-American...Some say that Nisei cannot be assimilated into the American Way of life...How can Nisei be assimilated if they are placed on racial basis and segregated into separate posts! This is simply 'Jim Crowism' all over again...my membership will go to that group that will accept any American regardless of race, color, or creed..."15

After the formation of a segregated Veteran of Foreign Wars Post in Sacramento, a prominent Nisei wrote:

"The formation of an all Nisei post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Sacramento is a most unfortunate thing that could have happened for the future of all persons of Japanese ancestry. The desire to get together is understandable. However, to organize a segregated post under an already existing national organization is merely encouraging those who desire to keep the Nisei separated.

"In matters of this nature, the Nisei veterans should realize that there is an underlying principle which should be respected. If we are going to fight against discrimination of any kind and nature we must be careful not to do anything that would lend color of sanctioning such practices. Once we indicate that segregation is permissible or acceptable, it is going to lead to more important or vicious types of discrimination. And we would have no basis to protest once we have conceded the validity of such segregation through our own acts.

"There may be an inconsistency in saying that the formation of the 442nd Combat Team was approved, and that a segregated veterans post should not be opposed. In defense of the combat team, the circumstances under which it was formed should be taken into consideration. The draft had been suspended. The only way in which the Nisei could fight for their country was through this combat team. And only volunteers were to be accepted after careful screening. Those who did join

this now famous unit all know how difficult it was to get into the Army. The reason which our friends in the War Department gave as their justification for the formation of this segregated unit was that this was the best way in which the loyalty of the Nisei could be highlighted. Subsequent events proved that these friends were sincere. And the 442nd Combat Team served the purpose of glorifying the military feats of the Nisei GIs.

"The 442nd Combat Team should be the first and the last segregated unit of Nisei soldiers. Hereafter every Nisei should be admitted into the Army on the same basis as any other American citizen, and they should be attached to whatever unit they are capable of doing the most good for the armed forces and their country."

In further analysis of the nature of segregated posts he continued:

"Where the hostility towards persons of Japanese ancestry is not marked, there is no indication of the Nisei being asked to form a separate post. Such segregated practices are the brainchild of those who are in favor of Jim Crowism..."

"The Nisei veterans have made great sacrifices for the future of all persons of Japanese ancestry in this country. It would be a shame for them to undermine all the good by condoning and approving Jim Crowism by taking the lead themselves...The time is ripe for the breaking down of social barriers. And the veterans would be an ideal group to spearhead a drive in this direction. The objective is not going to be attained by our veterans creating a clannish group of their own." 16

The root of the dilemma concerning the kind of organization which will most effectively serve Nisei veterans is the fact that there are unsolved problems of adjustment of a nature special to Japanese Americans. In addition, there is a feeling on the part of many that there can be greater fellowship if Nisei meet as a group.

One solution to this dilemma as well as an approach to special Japanese American problems has been the establishment of local veterans organizations in at least six cities across the country. While these are segregated, with membership limited to Nisei, individual members have been urged to join local chapters of the national organizations.

In Seattle, for example, the president of the Nisei Veterans Association belongs to a national veterans organization, as do a few other members.

A prospectus, put out by a group of Los Angeles Nisei veterans which later incorporated as "The Nisei Veterans Association", provides a clear exposition of the intent and plan of activity of these local Nisei veterans groups:

"Why a Nisei Veterans Association?"

"Because a united effort is needed to fight for tolerance that is still far from being a perfect reality.

"Because a organization is needed to act as spokesman for Nisei veterans and act as contact with other organizations, veteran or otherwise.

"Because with an organization of all Nisei vets our voice will be louder when speaking in a national veterans organization. We speak in national veterans organizations by individual members of NVA joining those organizations.

"To help Nisei vets get jobs with a free employment and welfare service.

"So that we can get together and hash over old times without someone giving us a blank look of ignorance of what we're talking about.

"To get athletics rolling among Niseis.

"To pool our resources to undertake business enterprises to become financially independent."

A list of the more specific objectives of the Association included:

"A. It is our hope and intentions that someday we will have a clubhouse of our own. A place where veterans may gather for a bull session and be understood. A place where refreshments may be obtained at a reasonable price. A place where veterans may be able to satisfy their urge for army type of relaxation. With support from all Nisei veterans, this project, we feel, is not an impossibility and should be realized in the very near future.

"B. We realize that regardless of our war record, everything is not peaches and cream for the Nisei vet. We are still being discriminated. We are not free to purchase homes wherever we please. If we do purchase them, we are not allowed to live in them.

"C. We feel that all Nisei should enjoy all the privileges of being Americans, socially, economically, and politically. Politically, we do have the franchise to vote. We can see no reason why it should end there. We feel that the only barrier is racial. It's up to us to break down that racial barrier.

"D. Economically, jobs are now open to us that were never open to us before. Yet there are many skills that we Nisei vets do have but cannot apply because jobs are not open to us. Those jobs can be opened and they are being opened. Slowly, yes, but at least progress is being made.

"E. Socially, the barrier lies greatly within ourselves. It is our refusal to mingle with others that is retarding progress. We have to step forward to be accepted. No one is coming more than half way to meet us. There are many who are willing to meet us but cannot because we refuse to meet them. Through our organization we hope to be able to rectify the situation. The veterans path in this respect will be the easiest.

"F. We did fight and did our part in the war and we do feel that others should now do the fighting for us. But, unless we fight for ourselves, no one is going to fight for us. The sooner we wake up and realize it the sooner we'll be able to have those things that we want."

"Why not Form Into a Post of a National Organization?"

"The organizers of NVA feel that by organizing into a post of a national veterans organization we will be asking those organizations to segregate against us.

"Only one organization to date has come out with a definite statement that there shall be no segregation in any of their posts. That organization then would be the one for us to become part of but we feel that with a mixed membership we will not be able to concentrate sufficiently upon those problems that are peculiar to

the Nisei. Our interests will necessarily have to become more diversified and the unity of purpose will be weakened.

"We do realize the strength of national veteran organizations and what they can do for us, if they will. Therefore, it is the policy of NVA that all members join a national veteran organization and carry on our fight in those organizations. Not only to break down prejudice within those organizations but to obtain their support upon questions that are of vital importance to the Nisei."17

So far, there has been no apparent desire to form existing local Nisei veterans associations into a national group.

There is no generally accepted approach to the question of organization among Nisei veterans, but of the three outlined above, that of the segregated local with members belonging to national organizations seems to have the greatest number of adherents. At the present writing, however, not more than one in 20 of the eligible Nisei veterans are members of such a group, with an additional scattered membership in national veterans organizations.

Relations with other minorities. Attitudes of Japanese Americans toward Negroes, Mexicans, and other minority peoples vary as greatly and in about the same proportion as may be found in the general population.

One result of the evacuation was to place a large number of Negroes in the former Little Tokyos. As we have seen, adjustments have been made so far with no appreciable trouble. The fact that the Japanese businessmen have a considerable amount of trade with Negroes, which they did not have before the war, has already resulted in some shifts in attitude. In general, Negro attitudes towards Japanese Americans have been friendly. Themselves subject to discrimination, many Negro leaders have viewed the evacuation as an instance of racial discrimination and in consequence, their sympathies have been with the evacuees. There is, however, some resentment of the favorable attention and the community assistance given Japanese Americans.

Instances of tension have not been unknown. Early in 1947, there were a series of robberies in the Little Tokyo district of Los Angeles. Assignment of additional city police eventually provided a partial solution to the problem, but for a time there was active danger of racial trouble. The following report carried in the Pittsburgh Courier of March 15, describes the sources of the difficulty, both in terms of the immediate causes of tension and in the social situation:

"Japanese merchants in the area began to wonder if the crimes directed against them were inspired by a group of colored criminals. From these wonderings, evolved a plan conceived by the Japanese merchants to place on the streets a patrol of their own. Ex-servicemen--Nisei soldiers--were employed to prowl the streets of the district to add to the services furnished by the city.

"Fearing an actual racial issue as a result of this action, because of its unilateral character, Reverend Kinglsey and Eiji Tanabe called a meeting of Japanese merchants of the area to discuss the now dangerous situation.

"When colored residents of the area discovered the vigilante like patrolmen on the streets of the vicinity, rumors began flying.

"Among these rumors was one with a bitter impact. Word was spread that the Japanese desired to rid the community of the colored residents. Traced through many channels, this rumor was disproved.

"This fact revealed the necessity of immediately planning some solution to the situation.

"At the meeting, it was shown that for the Japanese merchants to cry out against the colored residents because of criminal acts by a very small group, was unsound. By the same token, it was pointed out that colored residents of the area who catered to a racial outlook on the situation were courting trouble.

"Walking through the area, one may see Japanese and colored members of the district apparently mingling, but close observation will reveal that the association of the two groups is merely one of forced mingling. In very few of the Japanese establishments are any colored employed. This cannot be observed where colored establishments are concerned, because of the lack of the latter.

"Pilgrim House. There is one show in the vicinity, whose patrons in the main are juveniles of both groups, and in a small way, a few of the adults. Only at one establishment in the area may one see free mingling of the groups, and that is at the Pilgrim House, where very young children are kept while their parents work or shop.

"At the House, children play together freely. During the hours when they sleep, they are all bundled together in the same bed, or beds. This ends, when one leaves the vicinity of the houses. The scene then becomes one where the people are together, but at the same time are very distant."

Among Japanese American leadership there is some division of opinion whether their group should become involved in problems relating to discrimination against Negroes. In a number of cases the JACL has appeared as a "friend of the court" in legal actions resulting from restrictive covenants on residential property where Negroes were involved. It also entered a case seeking to prevent the segregation of Mexican school children under the California laws. It is perhaps worth noting that the issues concerned legal and constitutional rights rather than personal relationships.

Conversely, the degree of economic and social discrimination affecting Japanese Americans is so far below that placed upon Negroes, Mexicans, and most other minority groups, that there is very great hesitation among many in associating themselves with problems which do not immediately concern them. Japanese Americans living in cities which maintain a segregated social pattern may attend white schools, use white playgrounds, and be admitted to all hospitals. The fear on the part of Japanese Americans that identification with efforts to open these institutions to Negroes might result in added disabilities to themselves has undoubtedly had a deterrent effect on closer association between the two groups.

Religious institutions and activity. Indications are that the proportion of Japanese Americans who claim church membership and who attend regular religious services is about the same as that of the general population. One notable difference is the adherence to Buddhism of about half those Japanese Americans who have religious connections. In the postwar period, religious activity has shown many similarities to the prewar pattern, although not without stress. In the East and Midwest, there is proportionately larger attendance outside segregated churches.

The question of religion is an intensely personal matter and no attempt was made to gather information concerning religious beliefs. Apart from such personal matters, the development of religious institutions does throw light on certain phases of social adjustment, particularly that relating to participation in wider community affairs, and it is from this standpoint that the following material is presented.

Christian. In earlier chapters, mention has been made of the strong leadership furnished by ministers and lay church people in securing acceptance of Japanese Americans in communities new to them.* As Nisei began to arrive, they were much sought after as speakers to women's circles, young peoples groups and the like. Opinion in a particular church was not always unanimous, but there was usually someone who took warm interest in the novel task of assisting the Nisei. While there is no evidence that this attention was in any way related to proselyting for membership, in all of the cities of the Midwest and East, efforts were made to bring Nisei into the churches. Barriers that may have existed to participation in church life were seldom greater for Japanese Americans than for other new comers to a community. Everywhere, the churches and schools were the institutions most receptive to the evacuees.

To further the religious development among the resettlers, the Home Missions Boards of many of the Christian denominations assigned Japanese American ministers to such communities at Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, and New York. The emphasis was placed on attendance in regular churches of the community.

The results of these efforts were not uniform. In most communities having a sizable Japanese American population, there have been several distinct types of development among Christians. A considerable number have participated in regular church life. In Chicago, for example, a survey made in June of 1945 indicate attendance at 100 Protestant churches. In these, 200 had taken out membership, and an additional 275 attended regularly; another 500 attended occasionally. A fair number sang in church choirs and taught in Sunday schools. At the same time, several hundreds were meeting regularly in a Sunday evening service attended primarily by Nisei. Two churches have been established for Japanese alone.¹⁸ In Cleveland, a very similar development took place on a smaller scale. There was attendance in regular churches, a virtually all-Nisei evening service in one of the downtown churches, and a Japanese language church for the older people. The largest number to attend any one institution came to the Nisei services, which was also true in Chicago.

One Chicago church which sponsors the Nisei evening service has co-pastors, a Caucasian and the other a Nisei. While the evening service,

*The Maryknoll Mission of the Catholic Church has had a definite program of taking care of the needs of its members among the Japanese Americans. During the war it was active in the centers, and in the postwar resettlement period it has again been active in fulfilling spiritual as well as the social needs. However, since the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith are few among the Japanese Americans, a detailed discussion of this group will not be given.

which is served alternately by the two men has remained largely an exclusive Nisei affair, during the past year the general morning service has had an increasing Japanese American attendance. A clue to the behavior of the Nisei with relation to participation in all-Nisei as compared with general church services was contained in a remark made by the Nisei co-pastor of this church:

"When I came to this ministry in 1943, I did not believe it could work. I could not believe that I could share the deepest secrets of my being with a Caucasian. There were things I was sure he could not understand."/1

Three years later, the events of this ministry had changed his mind. In discussing this, he came back frequently to specific experiences--in the church service, with the sick, in conducting funerals, in performing marriages. He felt certain it was these experiences, rather than a conscious effort at belief, that had resulted in his present confidence of fellowship in his church. Asked to explain the growth within the past year of Nisei attendance at the regular church services, he offered:

"I think the Nisei saw that I was being fully accepted in all of the church life. This gave them confidence. Then I never have talked about integration. The church is God's House, and that is where we have placed emphasis. All can come to worship without a feeling of special obligation."/1

In both of the Japanese churches in Chicago, services are conducted in Japanese and English, and each supports two full time ministers. Both are elaborately organized with young people's groups, Issei groups, prayer meetings, church clubs, and church newspapers. In each, the social life for Issei and Nisei members revolved almost completely around the church program.

In Denver, religious activities have taken much the same pattern as in Chicago, although that city had a segregated Japanese church prior to the war. There is some participation in the regular church services of the city, but greater attendance in the all-Japanese churches. At the end of November 1947, the Nisei of Denver were hosts to "The Young People's Christian Conference of the Intermountain Circuit" with an attendance of from 125 to 250 Nisei at various sessions. The field report concerning this event provides social data and observation of considerable interest:

"This conference which dates back to 1930, is the 13th of its kind.

"The conference theme 'Now to Live' was well emphasized and from all indications well received by the delegates. (It is perhaps worthy of note that all of the listed speakers were Caucasians). Many were heard to have expressed the feeling that this conference was one of the best from all aspects. A good deal of this feeling stems from the fact that a dance was held following the usual conference banquet." 1

The person reporting then commented:

"Speaking of many individuals who attended the conference, I was convinced that this annual conference met a definite need of the young Nisei Christians. Most people felt that this annual affair will be perpetuated for years to come. One Nisei who had attended every conference since its inception in 1930, talked about getting the younger Nisei to attend the conference and to shoulder the burden of planning for the annual affair as the Nisei like him were getting old (he was about 30 years of age) and ready to graduate from the group. This only underlined the desire of the Nisei of perpetuating the annual affair.

"Especially for those Nisei, mostly farmers, who lived away from Denver, this conference is something they look forward to with great anticipation. For one thing, the conference provides them an opportunity to meet other Nisei, either to renew or make acquaintances. It has served to some extent as a promulgator of romance between Nisei boys and Nisei girls, which in some cases resulted in marriage.

"Many reported to me that most of the Nisei come to the conference purely for the fun and entertainment it provides, not so much for the religious inspiration that it is designed to provide. This seems to be verified by the attendance at the banquet and dance held on Saturday night, which was the largest of any of the various functions staged during the entire conference. Many of the Nisei further reported that if it weren't for the banquet and dance, many would not come to the conference. As a matter of fact Rev. S. advisor for the annual conference, admitted very frankly that the dance which followed the banquet on Saturday night was included in the conference program for the first time in the conference's thirteen-year history, because it was felt that it would serve as

an inducement to the Nisei to attend the conference. The ministers prefer to call the social functions as 'fellowship'."

The person reporting further stated:

"Rev. K. Chairman of the Colorado Committee for Fair Play, retired Congregational minister who had served as missionary in Japan for over 30 years prior to the war, an active community leader in assisting Nisei and Issei fight various forms of discrimination, and ardent advocate of Nisei integration in the larger community, strongly felt that the segregated Nisei Christian Conference was bad from the standpoint of Nisei integration. He is very strongly for the quick break up of segregated Nisei Christian churches and for Nisei joining established Caucasian churches. He believes the continuation of segregated Nisei units will only tend to perpetuate discrimination and prejudice against the Nisei and that best remedy for this is for the Nisei to abandon their segregated units and lose themselves as members of Caucasian organizations.

"Although there is much to be said in favor of Rev. K's arguments, the fact remains that throwing overboard all existing segregated Nisei units will not necessarily solve the whole problem of assimilation. The bulk of the Nisei are not ready to accept membership in Caucasian organizations and feel at home. They still prefer to cling to their own group. They seem to feel much more at ease in their own group. Without, say the segregated Nisei churches (Christian), it is doubtful whether any significant number of Nisei will join Caucasian churches or even attend the church services." /1

Another reaction, from a Nisei of broad contacts and outlook, will serve to fill in the picture. The following is taken from a field note:

"I regret somewhat ever having gone to the K's with you. K., with the zeal of a missionary, is pressuring me to attend his church. I couldn't turn him down every week, so have gone a few times, and now he is working on me to take a more active part in its function. All that is OK, but I have a lot of other interests which are closer to me, and my plight now is to find some sort of compromise in which I will be satisfied and also in which K. will not feel slighted. It's a problem." /1

Postwar Christian activities on the west coast have differed from those in the Midwest and East since there have been prewar institutions to which to return. These had been conducted along segregated lines before the war. After the evacuation, most of the buildings were put to other uses. In some cases, as other racial groups filled up the Little Tokyos, new segregated congregations made arrangements to use the buildings. In a few cases, interracial congregations were established. Even those buildings which remained idle during the war were put to use as hostels after the coast was opened. For the year after the rescission of exclusion, in hardly any locality was a church building immediately available for services of the kind held before the war.

With one exception, the Home Missions Boards of the Protestant denominations determined that their racially segregated Japanese churches should be abandoned, with the people being asked to attend regular churches. Ministers of the former Japanese congregations were to be assigned to work with the Caucasian churches, and buildings used for interracial congregations or put to other use. The returning Japanese Americans were thus faced with the issue of religious participation in the wider community, although the issue arose in a somewhat different setting than in the East.

Reaction of the returning Japanese, most of whom had come from the complete segregation of the relocation centers, was definite. The problem of language among the Issei, which had been a partial basis for the formation of segregated churches before the war was still in evidence after their return. Ministers, many of whom spoke very little English, felt out of place in an unsegregated program.

As one Issei minister stated:

"Facts cannot be overlooked. The Japanese group is one of the smallest minority. The population of Negroes, Caucasians, and Mexicans is large. In all of them you are bound to get a certain number of intelligent, broad-minded people who are interested in the problem of integration. In their church services, they get together and make a sizable group. But for the total population, they make but a small percentage. One cannot expect to have a larger percentage of Japanese interested in integration in proportion to the entire Japanese population. The people who have returned to the west coast are the most conservative, have lived together in Japanese communities, and therefore one cannot expect Japanese on the west coast to become integrated too quickly." 1

Concerning the same problem, a Nisei young peoples' worker in an interracial church remarked:

"The trouble is the top bracket laid down a policy of non-segregation but did nothing on the action level to make it work. There was no consultation with the Japanese. This is one of the reasons why Japanese Christian groups have had such a difficult time getting started."/1

A Nisei minister contributed the following:

"The Christian churches have gotten a late start because of confusion over their purpose. The Buddhist and the Catholic churches from the beginning have set the policy to take care of only Japanese. The other churches were not clear-cut because they felt that some sort of integration should begin, and so Japanese participation was small."/1

Along this same line, an Issei layman stated:

"The entire approach is based on a very poor argument, and it is hampering our Christian Church program. We are very far behind because the Church board wants integration while the Japanese are still suffering from the effects of being segregated in camps. Many of us still want things Japanese whether it is people, food, picture shows, and so forth."/1

In addition, there was resentment on the part of Japanese church people over what they considered unfair handling of church property. The full impact of personal property losses through vandalism hit the people only after their return. Efforts to put church property to interracial and other use became identified with personal loss and many felt that this was only another instance of breach of trust.

Not so plainly stated as this, but clear in implication are the remarks of a member of the board of one of the larger Japanese churches in Los Angeles:

"When we left for evacuation, we did not know how long we were going to stay. So we told the church board that we would be back some day, and that we would like to have the church back for the Japanese. It was a verbal agreement...The Church board is morally obligated to return it to us. You see, when the church was built, the Japanese paid for one-third, the church board one-third and the national board one-third, and the church was built for the Japanese."/1

That the problem is many-sided is indicated by the comment of a Caucasian interested in wide social participation by the Nisei:

"After trying to work into a number of churches in Seattle as a member of Nisei groups who desired to attend a 'mixed church', I can truthfully say that the atmosphere, the chances for recognition, and social as well as religious participation was not satisfying to the Nisei nor to me, and as a result of these experiences, they cease to attend these churches. All of us do the same sort of thing in regard to attending one church or another, or none. If the group will not fulfil our needs, we cease to attend and will go to some other group that will."/1

By the summer of 1946, there had been a general abandonment of the effort to prevent the reestablishment of segregated churches. There is evidence that once this was done, leadership among Nisei religious workers became more active in the direction of eventual broad religious participation with the wider community. Thus at the end of November, the Pacific Citizen carried the following note:

"The reactivation of the Nisei division of the Southern California Church Federation was discussed at a retreat attended by 30 Nisei and Issei ministers and other full time religious workers at Pacific Palisades on November 19 and 20.

"The consensus of opinion in the discussion on the proposed reactivation was that such a move uniting Christian groups would be an asset in the development of wider social relationships and in the consideration of the common problems and opportunities which concern Nisei."/19

In the same vein, the young people's worker quoted earlier stated his objective and method of approach as follows:

"Get a group together, and then by a process of education get them into a wider circle. Others don't agree with me. C. (a Caucasian co-worker) feels that if there is no segregated program, they will join an integrated program. I maintain that it can't be done because the Japanese have been the most segregated group these past few years; those who are ready for integration are back East, and the need for emotional security is first met within their own group."/1

That the churches where services are conducted in Japanese do not entirely serve the needs of the Nisei was indicated by the remarks of a young respondent:

"I don't much like to go to Rev. I's church. I can't understand either his Japanese or his English."/1

Generally, the past two years on the west coast has been one of continual adjustment to new situations, communities were being built, and it has essentially been a "settling down" period. When Christian churches found it difficult to fit into the non-segregated program, they reverted to segregated churches but with the hope of eventual assimilation into the wider community. Varying degrees of progress has been made in this direction. Present indications are that Nisei religious leadership in west coast communities is oriented in this direction.

Buddhist. Unlike the Christians, Buddhists among the Japanese Americans had no problem of participation in wider community churches. They have, however, had a number of special problems relating to their orientation to Japan.

At the outset of the war, most of the Buddhist priests were interned by the Department of Justice. Later, almost all were released to the various relocation centers, where a strong Buddhist program was maintained. By 1943, a young people's Buddhist program had been set up in Chicago, and in 1944, a young Buddhist priest arrived to establish formal services. By 1945, small Buddhist congregations were meeting in Cleveland and Detroit. In both these cities, the setting up of a Buddhist program was the subject of a newspaper article, in which comment was friendly. In these early efforts, the principal leadership was taken by young Nisei, and except for differences in ritual, the program was very much like that in the Nisei Christian services already described.

By the summer of 1946, four Buddhist churches had been established in Chicago. In numbers, the Shinshu church, a liberal sect, is the largest. The inability of the Shinshu priest to speak English has meant that all services have been conducted in Japanese, however, reports indicate that his sermons are delivered in popular rather than traditional style and attendance has averaged between 300 and 350 at the weekly services, and is mostly Nisei. An active social life has developed around this church.

The second largest, known as the Non-sectarian Buddhist Church is headed by a priest who has long felt that Buddhism in the United States should break completely away from Japanese cultural and religious domination. Services are held both in English and in Japanese, and the

organization of services is much more along the line of Christian practice than among the regular Buddhist churches. This church includes 20 to 30 Caucasians among its membership.

The remaining two Buddhist churches in Chicago are small, and of fundamentalist doctrine.

The young peoples Buddhist movement in New York has likewise had vigorous growth. In the summer of 1946, an Eastern Young Peoples Buddhist League was formed at a conference in Chicago, with representation from all of the Buddhist groups east of the Mississippi. At this meeting, an ambitious program to set up a Buddhist seminary in the United States was adopted. There were indications that the Buddhist hierarchy in San Francisco was dubious of this course, and the plan was later changed to provide scholarships for prospective Buddhist priests in American universities, with the question of final training--whether in Japan or the United States--left open.

In Denver, a prewar Buddhist temple was available to resettlers. As in other cities, in addition to religious services, a strong social and athletic program was built around this institution.

On the west coast, the reestablishment of Buddhist congregations has been erratic. As with the Christian churches, most of the temples were either in other use during the war--the Seattle temple was used by the Navy--or they were utilized as hostels after the recision of exclusion. In Los Angeles, where there had been 28 Buddhist congregations before the war, all but six of the buildings had been damaged to such an extent as to be unusable without extensive repair. One of the largest of those reactivated in that city is the Betsuin church. Although the services are conducted entirely in Japanese, their present membership of Nisei is between 350 and 400; much larger than before the war. A strong attraction to the Nisei has been a vigorous social and athletic program.

As noted earlier, the question of participation in wider community churches which plagued the early efforts of the Christian churches has not been a problem with the Buddhists. There is some evidence that the Buddhist groups exploited this fact at the expense of the Christian denominations. Thus, a young Christian leader remarked:

"The Buddhist church does not have a plan beyond their own group. They do not fit into the integration program because of its oriental leadership and philosophy. They are pushing ahead fast in membership because they see the needs of the young people, and can furnish spiritual security to the older folks. They have parties, weiner bakes, athletic programs, festivals, etc.

In other words, they are doing what some of the social agencies should be doing." /1

It may be noted, that among the younger Nisei, the lines between the Buddhist and Christian churches have not been too tightly drawn. A number of instances are known, for example, of Nisei who have played on athletic teams sponsored by both groups. Among the older people, there is more rigidity in church attendance, but it is apparent that severe pressure is not placed upon children in Buddhist homes who may desire to attend Christian Sunday schools.

There is some discontent with traditional services. As an example, a Seattle Nisei remarked that she was "unable to understand the Sutras" and her mother, who spoke Japanese fluently, admitted that the Japanese used was formal and understandable only to the religious student. There is some general feeling among the Buddhist lay people that Buddhism must be modernized if it "is to hold the young people". The movement in Chicago for "Buddhism in America" and the Eastern Young Buddhist League program for American training for the Buddhist priesthood is indication of general recognition of this problem.

Recreational and social activities. Because of language difficulties, and the effects of the war--including both economic dislocation and loss of status--Issei recreational and social activities are seldom of a group nature, nor is there much participation in wider community groups. There are, of course, exceptions. In Cleveland, for example, an Issei mother of children in high school has been very active in the Parent Teacher Association, and is chairman of the district council of the Camp Fire Girls. There are Japanese checkers, poetry, and singing clubs in a number of cities. In the summer of 1946, a Sumo (Japanese wrestling) tournament held in Chicago drew 500 Issei spectators and friendly comment in the Chicago press. A Japanese checkers tournament in Los Angeles drew 150 contestants and spectators. In September of 1946, a Nisei exponent of classical Japanese folk dance brought several hundred Issei and Nisei spectators to a Denver theater. Early in 1947, a modernized Japanese play drew crowds of Issei and Nisei in New York. These were exceptional occasions, and aside from religious services, there has been very little other Issei group social activity.

Full description of Nisei recreational and social activities is difficult. In no other kind of activity is the prewar exclusive all-Nisei pattern so completely repeated. At the same time, the present social pattern is almost entirely similar to that of other Americans of the same age level and economic status. Groups are formed on the basis of common interest and background; the activities revolve around dances and athletic activity common to all American young people. Thus a St. Patrick's Dance could be sponsored by a girl's basketball team and

held in the Nichiren Buddhist Temple in Portland without comment./20
In addition, there is a great deal of individual participation in the general community life which escapes notice. The Nisei or the vernacular press very frequently carries items such as the following, indicative of contacts which do not attract the attention that all-Nisei social affairs command:

"CHICAGO--Dr. Randolph Mas Sakada, prominent Chicago optometrist and second national vice-president of the JACL, was recently elected treasurer of the Oakland-Kenwood Lions Club."/21

In Chicago, where 15,000 to 20,000 Japanese Americans are living, an attempt was made to estimate the number of individuals participating with some regularity in all-Nisei group activities. Including the JACL, the veterans organization, Nisei and Issei religious services, and organized recreational activity, it is believed that not more than 1,000 individuals are included. How the remainder meet their need for social outlet is not known. The great number who have growing families and the pressing problems of establishing economic foundations evidently spend little of their spare time in group activity.

When relocation first began, heavy pressure was placed upon the Nisei to avoid congregation. In Chicago, for example, they were admonished both by friends in the community and by the WRA "not to appear publicly in groups of more than three". As relocation progressed and acceptance became better, the factors of common background and common interest caused an increasing disregard of this admonition. The first groups were formed around the churches. In 1943 the first all-Nisei dance was promoted, and thereafter the amount and kind of social activity grew. This experience was repeated in most midwestern and eastern cities, except that in some, the pressure for dispersion brought by Caucasian friends was less severe.

In many respects, this pattern was repeated with the reopening of the west coast, although over a shorter time span. Leadership in the wider community attempted everywhere to provide unsegregated social outlets, and to prevent social congregation. In this, they were supported, especially during the early stages of relocation, by many Nisei leaders. By the summer of 1946, however, this emphasis had been largely if not entirely abandoned by the Nisei.

During all of 1946, the number of Nisei athletic teams grew very rapidly. In Denver, on Labor Day a Tri-State Baseball Tournament brought together 12 teams from Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming, and played before a crowd of 800. In Los Angeles in late September, a baseball game between the Monterey Presidio All Stars and the Los Angeles Nisei

All Stars drew 2,500 spectators. Similar crowds gathered to witness athletic contests in other cities.

By the spring of 1947, bowling leagues were in progress in Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco, Seattle, Salt Lake City, Denver, and Chicago. The climax of the bowling season came in March when a nationwide Nisei bowling tournament was sponsored by the National JACL in Salt Lake City. Over 200 bowlers came from Illinois, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Oregon, Washington, and California.

Meanwhile, basketball tournaments were equally popular. Sectional tournaments were held in San Jose and Seattle. In Salt Lake City, the 12th annual Intermountain Invitational Tournament was contested by eight teams representing Colorado, Washington, Idaho, and Utah. In Chicago, a basketball tournament sponsored by the Chicago Nisei Athletic Association attracted teams from New York, Seabrook Frams of New Jersey, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Cleveland.

At the same time enthusiasts of less strenuous sports were getting together. In Seattle 62 golfers vied for the Puget Sound Golf Association trophy. Skating parties in Los Angeles drew 700. Moving picture shows and celebration of the "Hana-Matsuri", commemorating the birth of Buddha were held in San Francisco and Chicago.

Indicating that sentiment does not entirely run one way, at the University of California, a proposal to reopen the Japanese Students club house was opposed by a majority of the Nisei on the campus, and the club was not reactivated.^{/22} In San Francisco, the Buchanan Street YMCA, which had been used exclusively by the Japanese before the war, and by Negroes during the war, was set up during February as an inter-racial YMCA-YWCA with Nisei, Negro, and Caucasian secretaries.^{/23}

In Los Angeles, controversy arose between wider community leaders and the Japanese American group concerning the use of a girls dormitory. This had been paid for by the Japanese community before the war. It was left in the hands of the YWCA during the war and had been put to multi-racial use. When the YWCA board desired to continue on this basis, Japanese leaders strenuously objected. However, when the building was eventually turned over to the Japanese, four Nisei girls in residence protested. At the last report, the Japanese board was satisfied that it had regained control, and the racial composition of the residence had not been changed.

Many Nisei leaders who have accepted the inevitability of all Nisei activity have sought to use such activity as a means of gaining ultimate participation in the wider community. For example, in Cleveland, a Nisei boy's worker at the metropolitan YMCA acted as sponsor for a Nisei softball league. His purpose was stated as follows:

"It is true, it would be better for the kids to go into the Municipal League, but they just aren't ready. There aren't enough ballplayers for that kind of competition. After they have played together for a year or so, I'm going to see to it that they do enter the League. If they can do it as members of non-Nisei teams, so much the better. Anyhow, they'll get some confidence in their playing ability."/1

Reactions among the Nisei and their friends in the wider community have been varied. In September 1946, a west coast YWCA general secretary stated:

"When the Nisei came back, we did everything we knew to get them to participate in our regular program. But the girls don't come. I feel almost defeated."/1

Many others among the Caucasian friends of the Nisei, whose hopes for the end of Little Tokyo social life have not been realized, share this feeling.

Comment, carried in the Japanese American press, is indicative of the range of group opinion. Thus, an article carried in the Rocky Shimpo of June 23, 1946, noted:

"One of the finest things the Denver Nisei have staged locally was the Ruby Yoshino benefit recital at Phipps auditorium, June 22...She is recognized as the outstanding Nisei lyric soprano in America...

"Among the 350 people attending the concert, more than a hundred were Caucasians. We can feel self justified for our existence in America, for Nisei talent can contribute to the cultural life of the community. And we can be proud to present programs, such as this concert, to Caucasian audiences, on the basis of their recognized artistic worth.

"Too often in the past, whenever a fellow Nisei became prominent in any field, we were soon busy trying to tear him down, to criticise and oavil, without constructive or reflective consideration that the success of even one Nisei tended to raise the general level of us all and to aid in our eventual assimilation into American life and society.

"It is sound policy to promote the advancement of any Nisei with talent or ability--for mutal benefit. A

disinterested Caucasian, a man-on-the-street, reading newspaper notices of an all-Nisei concert cannot help but think, 'HMMMMM, I guess not all Japs are just dirt farmers'...."

Concerning the visit to Denver of Kansuma, a Nisei exponent of classical Japanese dance forms, the Rocky Shimpo of September 6, 1946 commented:

"Oriental art and culture, when portrayed by an artist as gracious and lovely as Kansuma should be capitalized upon by the Nisei community, because whenever any Nisei gains public attention the publicity redounds to the benefit of all Nisei.

"Now that the war is over, it is felt that we Nisei have nothing to be ashamed of or to regret our Japanese background, but that we should exploit and advance all that is beautiful and artistic in art and culture, despite the fact that it had its origin in Japan. We need to remember that there was much that was good in prewar Japan."

The Nisei Weekender carried the following in its January 16, 1947 issue:

"The Japanese American community in New York seems to have found its stride for 1947. Already an ambitious entertainment project featuring a three act play has been presented by a local organization with more programs, benefit performances, dances, and tournaments being planned. Naturally enough, Japan relief is one of the major projects for 1947.

"All this activity indicates a mature, settled community with a regulated life of its own. But somehow we feel a conflict of interests in many of the activities-- a lack of cohesion. Furthermore, we feel a lack of real direction and purpose. Following the frenzy of the everything-for-the-war-effort years, we've yet to make long-range plans for our little community.

"But on various sides, individuals, from Gotham's leading Japanese businessmen to Nisei Taro-Suzuki hanging around the 97th street bowling alley, have been talking. Nisei and Issei ought to get together, says one chap. Welfare work should be coordinated. They're too many outfits duplicating each other, says another.

"Why should we have four churches, queries still another. Wish we had a decent meeting place, chimes a fourth. Someone should start a marriage brokerage, says a frustrated Kibei who has been looking vainly for a wife. We should try to unfreeze the \$40,000 in frozen assets owned by the Japanese Association and use it for the community good, suggested a prominent Issei businessman who has been noted for his sagacity and community spirit.

"One of the most interesting and oft heard suggestions is that of the 'community center'. There are many versions but the proposal generally is this:

"'A community center, providing an adequate hall with a number of smaller rooms for recreation and meeting purposes, is needed. It should be non-organizational, non-denominational, and open to all groups. If there is enough room, office space can be rented to organizations such as the JACL, JACD, and the Greater New York Committee for Japanese Americans, thereby defraying part of the cost. Another suggestion for augmenting income is to operate a snack bar and to run a gift shop offering Japanese American craft goods. With properly publicized exhibits, featuring Japanese American artists, considerable interest could be aroused in the non-Japanese community.'

"There is no danger of developing a Japanese ghetto, say these advocates of the plan, as long as emphasis is placed on democratic methods."

A release issued by the Chicago Resettlers Committee suggested:

"On the eve of their fifth year of residence in Chicago, many of the 20,000 Japanese American resettlers here have not yet found a world where they can feel at home.

"Not only do they not feel at home here, but they are also beset by unwholesome influence that obstruct them from growing in that direction. These same unwholesome influences may yet claim many more of them in 1947 as casualties on the Chicago police blotter.

"The challenge now of the unfinished job of relocation is clear. Either the churches, social agencies, and community leaders act with imagination and foresight to

provide competing social-recreational outlet for these young people, or else we shall surrender them to the ranks of our crime and delinquency statistics." /24

Somewhat more critical, an article in the Oregon Nippo of January 18, 1947 stated:

"Speaking in generalities, the average Nisei, insofar as a social life is concerned, is a very gregarious fellow. There is nothing he would enjoy more than a good dance, a good bazaar, a good carnival, etc. However, his gregarious sociability, if we can so coin a term, is pretty much limited to his own group and he rarely makes any effort to break out of the society in which he allowed himself to become a part.

"This particular Nisei, of whom we are all (to some degree) prototypes, is probably the same individual who complains bitterly about the job situation, discrimination, etc., and yet, he blithely goes about his easy ways--unconsciously hoping that some enterprising fellow will make the way easier for him. He probably studies hard to receive his college degree and vindictively asserts that he isn't going to end up as a vegetable peddler at the market place, but he does little or nothing to prevent such an inevitability."

Securing mature leadership for Nisei social activities has been a problem often mentioned in the vernacular press and during interviews. Thus, the Progressive News of March 24, 1947 carried the following under a Los Angeles date line:

"This Southern California community with its large Japanese and Nisei population has almost returned to 'normal' and the Lil Tokyo of prewar days is being resumed again with its numerous clubs for youths of all ages. The biggest need at present is for club advisors and club counselors for all of these various organizations that are springing up like mushrooms.

"Nearly all of them are all-Nisei affairs. They need adult leaders with a wide range of perspective on race relations, a clear and definite understanding of the assimilation and integration program, and a well-informed political consciousness.

"Most of the older and more adult Nisei, say those in their thirties, are not readily available because the men are busily occupied with resuming their evacuation-shattered businesses, and the women are nearly all tied down with children and family duties. Those in their late 20's or over 25 age group, are either unwilling or unqualified, or not socially conscious enough to volunteer for such a 'labor of love' as assisting the younger Nisei."

Similarly in Seattle, a meeting called to discuss the formation of an organized recreational council was described:

"About fifteen couples gathered for a buffet supper and a discussion period after it. This was one of the first social occasions together since their return to Seattle, and there was much hand shaking and exchanges of information about their activities since they last met. But the discussion of the proposed organization which came later failed to arouse the kind of enthusiastic interest which the interim committee had hoped for. Each person present seemed to realize the responsibility of the group to do something about helping organize the community, but they were clearly afraid to become involved in anything which would occupy much of their time and energy. Most of those present were concerned more with their immediate personal problems of reestablishing themselves economically, and it was difficult to arouse discussion about community problems." 1

Thus, as with many other phases of postwar social adjustment, the pressure of work has held back the development of leadership.

The following section will deal more generally with the matter of social participation in wider community affairs. Before going into this discussion, the following from a graduate of a west coast university is worth noting:

"At the Pan Hellenic tea, to which delegates from all women's organizations were invited, I happened to sit next to a very charming girl who soon was telling me about a party put on a few nights earlier by her sorority. If I hadn't been able to tell her in return of our Nisei Women's Association party, of my clothes, my date, and what we all said and did, I'd have felt pretty badly. But it turned out our experiences were very much alike. The girl respected me and I felt her equal. I think our groups served a real purpose." 1

Participation in Wider Community Activities

The earlier sections of this chapter have provided information concerning the range of participation in wider community activities. In the present section, an attempt will be made to draw together the recurring themes in this phase of postwar social adjustment, and to present Japanese American comment. The question is not new; it formed the burden of endless prewar discussions among Nisei concerning the "Nisei problem" -- the problem of finding a recognized and secure place in American life. As we have seen, Issei contacts in the wider community have not been frequent, and the remaining discussion will be limited to matters concerning the Nisei and the Sansei.

The preceding pages of this report have demonstrated that the range of adjustment is very great; from the infrequent contacts of the resident of a segregated district whose employment is in a Japanese business establishment, to the broad contacts of the person who lives away from other Japanese and is employed in a non-Japanese establishment. It has become evident, also, that the question of participation is different for a Nisei living in an Ohio or California village, than for one living in a metropolitan area.

The term "Japanese community" which has been used throughout this report has an ambiguous meaning when applied to the postwar period. The fact of congregation does not, in itself, produce a community. Moreover, because of the dispersal to the East and Midwest, much larger numbers now live in the general community, away from close proximity to other Japanese. As we have seen, the evacuation largely destroyed in-group control over the sources of livelihood, and this means of enforcing uniformity of behavior has not been replaced. Group loyalty is not sufficient to insure patronage of Japanese business establishments if goods are better or cheaper elsewhere. If this was increasingly true before the war, the evacuation brought the development to its logical end. Today, there is little durability in Japanese community relationships, except for those activities taking place after working hours. The Japanese community has too little to offer in terms of prestige or economic advancement. Essentially, it is in social activities and the feeling of common identity that the postwar "Japanese community" loosely may be defined.

The aspirations of the Nisei and their children are toward the same economic and social goals as those of other Americans. They wish to be secure in employment or business enterprise, to live in favorable neighborhoods, and to be able to develop their social relationships according to their individual tastes and desires.

The five years from the beginning of the war to 1947 have carried a large number of Nisei from a position of dependence in the family, to one of self reliance. The process of acquiring maturity would have taken place if there had been no evacuation, but was accelerated by the events following Pearl Harbor. The evacuation significantly weakened the authority of the Issei generation in the family. Nevertheless, family needs are recognized by the Nisei, and this contributes to group solidarity. At the same time, there is some remaining conflict in the home as Issei and American cultural patterns clash, and although this is less severe than before the war, such conflict does help to produce an unsettled individual.

The evidence indicates strongly that the more obvious aspects of the old world Japanese culture brought to America by the Issei have had but little force in determining the outlook or the activities of the Nisei. However, the fact that he was reared under the influence of both Japanese and American culture, and that few have attained complete mastery in the customs of either, has directly contributed to lack of social ease in wider community relationships. If in Japan, and later in the Japanese communities of America, his parents had found it necessary to foresee the results of their social acts before acting in order to conform to rigid custom, their American sons and daughters more frequently found it necessary to give thought and energy in meeting the cultural demands of both the small Japanese society and the larger American society. A result has been a constrained and self-conscious individual.

In comparison, Americans of long resident European ancestry, used to moving in a society where social errors are of less moment, are under less compulsion to analyze their social acts in advance, and are more prone to act first and then seek to rationalize their actions where called upon to do so. The American way gives more spontaneity, directness, and bluntness to social interaction. Many Nisei are lacking in this, and there is some difficulty experienced among them in mixing with people who move along spontaneously in their social relations.

In this vein, a Nisei wrote:

"Most of the Nisei are not prepared psychologically and by experience to lose themselves in the larger community. Most of the Nisei I've talked to have told me themselves that they preferred to stick to their own group, largely because they feel much more at ease in their own group.... The Nisei must first replace the fear he possesses with confidence. One way this can be accomplished is by being active in his own group which provides him with opportunities for developing leadership and in general gives him a sense of security." /25

The feeling of being set apart is strong. This feeling has its roots in the historical development of the group in America, and was greatly strengthened by the experience of the evacuation when the fact of common Japanese ancestry was of overruling importance. Segregated Army service, while designed to improve public acceptance, nevertheless developed group feeling. The continuing experience of discrimination has reinforced this feeling at many points. In the open situation which developed as public acceptance became better during relocation, even favorable attention further bolstered group feeling. Pressure placed upon the Nisei to avoid congregation added to group feeling. The intense emotional experience of the evacuation received fresh fuel when the Nisei were advised to "avoid public appearance in groups of more than three."

There are few Nisei who do not agree to the desirability of broad contacts outside their own group in addition to those within. But when Caucasian friends urged them to cut off contact with other Nisei, the admonition strongly suggested some fault in the Nisei. It appeared that he was being asked to deny his background. Frequently the mixed activities proposed were of secondary interest. A few Nisei are intensely concerned about general racial and minority problems, but the number is proportionately no greater than among the total American population. Participation in multi-racial activities, a type of activity very frequently proposed, has received but lukewarm response.

Difficulties relating to this aspect of the problem of participation in the wider community are well stated by a Nisei respondent:

"The difficulty with the integration program is that no one is clear as to what integration means. Presumably, it means establishing more contacts with the majority group and relinquishing some of their in-group contacts. Presumably it means picking out some individuals or groups of the majority group with whom the Nisei 'ought to' make friends, and establish relations with them. But I note that most Nisei feel an unnaturalness and irrationality about such an approach, as well they might. They feel a difficulty about building up relationships which do not result from the natural impulses of the individuals involved. Elsewhere, I have noted the discussion of a group which has arrived at a 'to hell with them' attitude in regard to participating in an international club. I think such a revolt is inevitable where 'integration' is presented as a responsibility of the Nisei, and yet where the basis for it is lacking." /1

The fact that Nisei do encounter differential treatment is a material factor in the formation of attitudes and in determining the willingness of an individual to venture participation outside the Nisei group. The expectation of discrimination varies considerably between individuals, and with a particular individual there are changes in the light of experience. At the one extreme of attitude is a young Nisei business man who spoke bitterly of his indefinite leave card, given him when he left the relocation center, as his "parole ticket," He stated:

"Pressure from the outside makes the Nisei what they are. You can't assimilate, people won't let you." /1

Another Nisei believes:

"Experience has shown us that the Nisei must be ten percent better than the next guy to win acceptance in this predominantly white man's country." /26

A writer for the Progressive News approached the question more positively, but from the same viewpoint:

"No one can contest the ugly fact that there is discrimination. But to know of its existence and to oppose it is one thing; to let it cower you into inertia and passivism is another. There is no ease, but there is satisfaction in fighting against intolerance from within the ghetto into which one has been pushed. There can be no escape if we accept the judgment of prejudice as complete and final. Only in striving against what is wrong, only in active participation to break the bonds that bind us are we to measure the success of our quest to become a part of this American community." /27

In some instances, it has been attention, rather than overt discrimination that has caused self consciousness, as for example the experience of a young Nisei woman in Cleveland during her first months after leaving the relocation center:

"My husband and I would be waiting for a street car, and time after time I'd say, 'let's wait for the next one.' My husband was understanding and never asked me the reason. Finally, the matter had to be settled and so I explained that in some of the street cars - the ones we passed up - seats faced each other across the aisle and I just couldn't force myself to sit there and be stared at. Well, we both laughed, and the next time we took the first car that came along. I decided that the woman across the aisle was admiring my hat. Now it doesn't bother me anymore." /1

Speaking of attracting notice, a Washington, D. C., Nisei woman remarked:

"It might be a matter of imagination, I know when I used to go around with a chip on my shoulder, I thought everyone was looking at me. But, golly, its so silly." /1

In an article captioned "I'm tired of being a guinea pig" a writer for the Pacific Citizen expressed yet another viewpoint:

"I'm an average Nisei.

"Time was, before the war, when I went my happy and unconscious way to school, to work, to the movies, and the bowling alleys. Today I live the life of a goldfish, and my glass bowl is getting mighty cramped.

"For four years I've been -- not myself, an individual with God-given traits and man-made surroundings -- but a Nisei, and as such I've been open to discussion and dissection by nearly every social scientist and anthropologist and writer and social worker in the country.

"I've been probed and dissected and discussed and directed till I am but a shell of flesh surrounding a well-nutured inferiority complex." /28

In commenting on reactions of this nature, a respondent whose observation of Nisei problems has been close, suggested:

"The reason the integration idea is so much on the conscience of the Nisei is that the present discrimination against them is not of a clearly defined type --as against certain other groups -- giving rise to the idea that the failure to integrate is the 'fault' of the Nisei. Actually, a form of discrimination or of segregation is imposed on virtually all Nisei which they may not have analyzed but to which they nevertheless respond.

"This takes the form of differential attitude and behavior, of the majority group, toward the Nisei. Whether the majority group member is particularly friendly or cool, the effect on the Nisei is the same in the sense that they regard the other as responding to them as Nisei. All the influences in newspapers, informal conversations and day-to-day business and social activities which bring up the identity of the Nisei as a group tends to reinforce this sensitivity of the Nisei.

"In the last analysis, it is the fact that the Nisei suspect they are being treated differently, or will be treated differently, which is at the crux of their difficulty in completely dropping their identity with the Nisei group. I believe there are certain rational grounds for this belief. Their experiences on the west coast and during the war gave plenty of support to this belief. Even today it is known that there are limitations in housing and job opportunities.

"It may be true that very few Nisei ever encounter any serious discriminations which matter, but rather the little experiences of overhearing the word "Japs" or of noting a glance of hostility or curiosity which build up the self consciousness and sensitivity of the Nisei. Above all, there's no escaping the racial badge, and the Nisei proceed in their out-group social relations on the assumption that racial minorities are subject to discrimination. All this serves only to point to the fact that the Nisei regard themselves as being different from Caucasians, and that they behave towards Caucasians accordingly.

"I believe most Nisei approach Caucasian strangers with an awareness of racial difference, and with a sensitivity either to possible hostility or to whatever possible attitude the other may have because the individual is a Nisei. This is a matter of self protection, an armor against possible damage to one's self regard." 1

In his conscious efforts to better his group, Nisei have faced a two-fold dilemma. Through segregated organization, it is often possible to bring Japanese American needs more forcibly to public attention. But in establishing segregated organizations, individual contact and the experience of participation in wider community groups is largely cut off, except for top leadership. In addition, there is belief on the part of many that organization draws unfavorable attention, and that the better way to work out specific problems is through individual action. The fact that there are special Japanese American problems, such as the securing of legislation to compensate for evacuation losses or to gain the privilege of naturalization for Issei parents contributes to the maintenance of group solidarity, but also to individual antagonism toward leadership within the group.

Much of the purely social all-Nisei activity has been carried on by those in the teens and early twenties, the age group in which the largest proportion of the Nisei are to be found. Quite normally, in such a group, there is major interest in the opposite sex. Thus a field report stated:

" ...as many of the Nisei (both men and women) have told me. 'It is expected that we marry other Nisei, and about the only place where you have a chance to meet any number are at our type of social affairs.' " 1

Mixed social outlets, which may be freely available to individual Nisei, may be less receptive to larger numbers of a visible minority group. In a community where there are a fairly large number of Nisei, it is difficult for all of them to gain access to groups that are congenial and will allow them to play basketball, baseball, and bowl.

To conclude consideration of the subjective factors which have tended to make participation in the wider community difficult for Nisei without reiterating that the range of adjustment as between individuals is exceedingly great, would not do justice to the present social situation. The Nisei are in a transitory position, with their non-English speaking Issei parents on one end and their Sansei children on the other. Most Nisei tend to restrict their social life to Nisei groups, but every Nisei has some contact in the wider community and there are a sizable number whose ability to move without strain in the wider community is unquestioned, either by themselves or others. Finally, the fact that all-Nisei group activity commands attention should not obscure the evidence that such groups represent but one phase of social activity, and provide social outlets for only a portion of the entire number of Japanese Americans.

In the total range of the postwar economic and social adjustment of the evacuated Japanese Americans, there are many impersonal factors which lead in the direction of wider participation. Many more than before the war now live in unsegregated districts where they are rapidly acquiring neighborly relations with people of all sorts. Similarly, contact with other Japanese people at places of work has been greatly increased by dispersal and the breakdown of the prewar Japanese economy. The Nisei's broadened postwar experience permitted a columnist for the Pacific Citizen to write:

"If assimilation means becoming part of the lifestream, then the Nisei are in truth Americans. They have graduated from the vital statistics class to people who live and die and make news in the process.

"Last week there was an explosion in Los Angeles that made the front pages of virtually every newspaper in the country. Two of the victims were Nisei girls, one a chemist whose body was blown to bits and who was listed for many days simply as 'missing'.

"A Nisei became a sheriff's deputy in Los Angeles County, the very place from which he had been run out five years earlier as a hazard to the war effort.

"A Nisei was making basketball history with the University of Utah and another was being talked up as a 1948 Olympics swimming team threat. The Nisei were being lauded in the Utah State Legislature and the State of California was trying to deprive them of their land.

"Nisei were teaching English to blond and blue-eyed students whose families have been in America for generations; Nisei were taking their parents to apply for their first citizenship papers.

"Nisei were being born and dying, being held up, being involved in automobile accidents, being married and divorced, talking and worrying about their problems and being more and more a part of the American scene so that in a few years, perhaps, no one would even think of them as different." /29

A closely connected factor of long range importance is that many of the Nisei coming into a position of social leadership have had wide experience in the Midwest and East in unsegregated activity. Having themselves broken through the shell of the limited Nisei world, many of these are looking toward wider contacts for the young people with whom they work, yet have retained the patience to contribute to the immediate social needs of the Nisei whose experience has been narrower. Their goal is not to cut themselves or other Nisei off from contact with Nisei, but to broaden their experience so that there may be natural participation in all types of groups, and between all sorts of individuals wherever interest leads.

The attitude of many of these leaders has been summarized in the following:

"Looking at the whole problem realistically the best we can expect most of the Nisei to accomplish is to maintain their segregated community and organizations, but to branch out into the larger community gradually. The Nisei must first replace the fear he possesses with confidence. One way this can be accomplished is by being active in his own group which provides him with opportunities for developing leadership and in general gives him a sense of security. The segregated organizations can be a means toward maintaining a close tie with the larger community. The unprepared Nisei might withdraw even more tightly into his own

group if he meets rebuffs in his attempt to mingle in the larger community. Of course, I agree that the Nisei should continuously strive toward the goal of complete assimilation, despite rebuffs that he may meet, and those Nisei who are now prepared to do so ought to follow this course unswervingly, not only for his own benefit, but also as an example to other hesitant Nisei." /1

A second element in this viewpoint was stated by a Pacific Citizen editorial:

"Actually, the truth gained from four years of resettlement work was that integration cannot be forced. Neither the country nor the Nisei were prepared for the kind of complete integration that is the American dream--but not necessarily the present American system. The fears and suspicions conjured up by the evacuation were too strong to be overcome within a short period." /30

The direction given by leadership will be crucial in determining the eventual social result of all-Nisei activities, but in wider context, it will be the personal experiences of individuals which will define the Nisei's conception of his place in American life.

Chapter VI

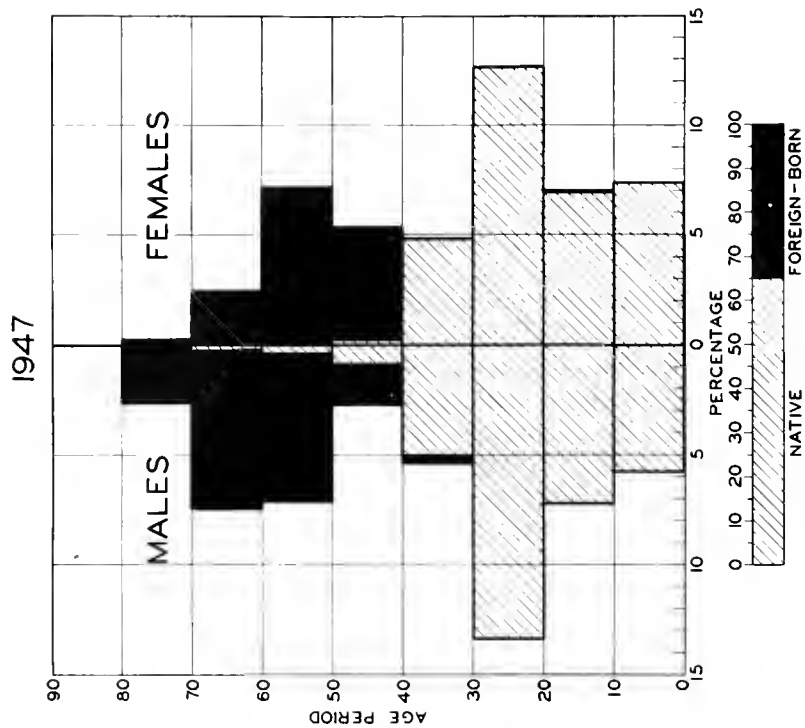
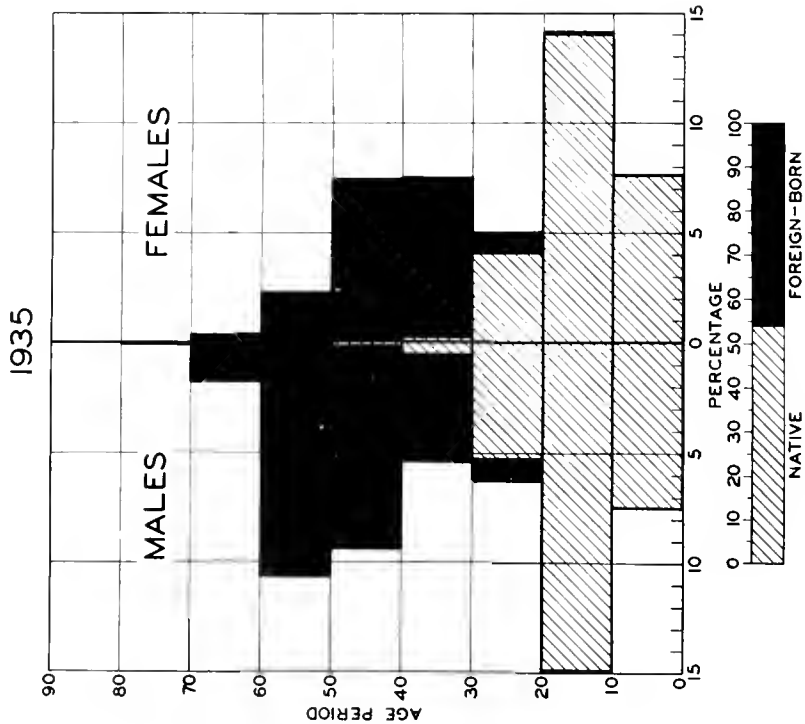
RESETTLEMENT

The future of persons of Japanese descent in America lies with the Nisei and Sansei generations. That future will be conditioned by two primary factors: the presence or absence of economic discrimination, and the beliefs which Americans of Japanese descent come to have about their acceptance in American life. The fact that Japanese aliens have been and remain ineligible to citizenship has set a standard that has affected alien and citizen alike, both in law and in the attitudes of other Americans. The manner in which the people of the United States dispose of this issue will be crucial in determining the place in American life which the Japanese American will come to occupy.

In the long run, beliefs will conform to the reality of the objective situation. The postwar period has provided a variety of experience to a people whose range of aspiration, activity, and attitude had been very great, but who had been drawn together and their common ancestry emphasized by evacuation. The trend of public opinion is running strongly in the direction of equality. In many communities, tolerance, which is essentially negative, is being replaced by positive acceptance. However, the evidence shows that those Americans who may have interest in the solution of the problems of Japanese Americans may expect but small reward for their efforts if they limit their activity to an attempt to prevent congregation and in-group social participation. It will be his ability to secure employment and adequate housing in equal competition with other Americans, and the continuing experience of day to day contacts that will slowly define the Japanese American's conception of his place in American life.

The superstructure of renewed Japanese community life has been erected, but its foundations are insecure. If special Japanese American problems persist, the roots of these communities may be expected to deepen, and the people to withdraw further from participation in the wider community. If special problems are solved in a manner that will permit adequate satisfaction of the human needs of the members of this group, the fact of broader contact may be expected to provide wider participation in all phases of American life.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY SEATTLE: 1935 AND 1947



Appendix A

SEATTLE SAMPLE SURVEY

As noted in the foreword, data for Seattle was contributed by S. Frank Miyamoto and Robert W. O'Brien, members of the faculty of the University of Washington. In addition to contributions to the study in the form of field notes, they furnished to this report the findings of an independently conducted survey based on a random sample of the total Japanese population of Seattle. Material dealing with economic adjustment was included in Chapter III. The following chart and tables provide the only known set of recent data on population distribution in any of the west coast cities. Notes concerning the methods used in conducting the Seattle survey will be found on subsequent pages. Data for 1935 shown in the chart on the preceding page was taken from a special compilation made by Forrest LaViolette and Frank Miyamoto on the basis of the fourth census of Seattle Japanese made by the North American Japanese Chamber of Commerce. The 1947 data is from the Miyamoto-O'Brien survey.

Table I

Japanese Population of Seattle by Nativity and Sex: 1940 and 1947.

Year	Total		Native Born				Foreign Born			
	Number	%	Total		Male	Female	Total		Male	Female
			Number	%			Number	%		
1940	6975	100	4099	59	2092	2007	2876	41	1654	1222
1947	4692	100	3043	65	1541	1502	1649	35	920	729

Source of data: United States Census, 1940, Vol. II Part 7, Table A36, p. 401. 1947 figures from O'Brien-Miyamoto Survey.

Table II

Marital Status, Japanese Population of Seattle by Nativity and Sex: 1947

Nativity	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Separated
Native Born - Males	1117	416	--	--	8
Females	1037	455	8	2	--
Foreign Born - Males	145	705	59	11	--
Females	13	610	106	--	--

Source of data; O'Brien-Miyamoto Survey.

Table III

In-migration to Seattle - Japanese Population whose last pre-evacuation address was not Seattle.

From the State of Washington	484	From Eastern States	2
From other Pacific Coast States	90	From Hawaii	8
From Rocky Mountain States	3	From Alaska	15
From Midwestern States	14	Total In-migration	616

Source of data: O'Brien-Miyamoto Survey

Notes on Seattle Survey Methodology.

A list of known addresses of the Japanese population of Seattle was used as the universe from which the sample was selected. This list was constructed from name lists available through various organizations. As checks were made to determine the adequacy of the final list, some under-enumeration of children, housewives, and other dependents was evident, but active and employable persons 15 to 20 years of age and over were recorded with fair completeness. Although the catalogue was incomplete for all individual names, it was believed that it would yield a virtually complete file of all addresses at which Japanese Americans in Seattle were residing.

Examination of the address cards showed a concentration in certain tracts of a polyethnic area, with some dispersion into outlying tracts. A five-fold stratification by census tracts -- of tracts K, O, P, M-Q, and "all others" -- was therefore used for sampling purposes. Because of the variations in the size of the residential units being sampled, a second stratification by the number of families per address was also used. These numbers were roughly determined by sorting out the individual cards to show the number of surnames of each address. On the assumption that each surname represented a single family, five strata were defined as follows: residential units having one-two, three-five, six-twelve, thirteen-nineteen, and twenty or more families.

By random sampling, addresses were then drawn from each of the sub-strata. Since the catalogue of addresses contained relatively few cases of the larger residential buildings, the sampling fraction was progressively increased for the latter strata. Thus, an approximately 10 percent sample of the one-two family residences was taken, a 15 percent sample of the three-five family residences, a 20 percent sample of the six-twelve family residences, a 25 percent sample of the thirteen-nineteen group, and a 50 percent sample of all addresses with 20 or more

families. Using this procedure, 113 addresses were drawn from a total of 867, approximately a 13 percent sample of all addresses.

Interviews were recorded on simple schedule cards and were carried out by Miyamoto and O'Brien, aided by a corp of assistants, mostly students. The instructions required that every person of Japanese ancestry at each of the sampled addresses be completely enumerated.

Appendix B

STATEMENT

Of Mike Masaoka, national legislative director of the Japanese American Citizens League Anti-Discrimination Committee, Inc., before the President's Civil Rights Committee, May 1st, 1947.*

We persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and aliens alike, have many problems in common with other minority and racial groups in the United States. At the same time, we have several that are peculiarly and exclusively our own.

Most of the latter stem from our wartime treatment, an unprecedented action that many have described as the greatest violation of civil rights in American history.

The military evacuation of 110,000 persons, two-thirds of whom were American-born citizens, without trial or hearing, in the absence of martial law and when our courts were functioning, began a pattern for un-American discrimination that still threatens the civil rights and liberties of every citizen. If, as the Supreme Court ruled, "affinity" with a particular race is sufficient cause for trampling the constitutional guarantees of any individual or group, it is our belief that civil rights mean little in emergencies when they are needed most as a protection against tyranny and oppression.

In view of what happened to us in wartime, we fear for the future when man's passions may be aroused and reason is dimmed, when special interests may foment hysteria and prejudice. We believe that if the validation of civil rights is the concern of this Committee, then this Committee must interest itself in presenting to the Supreme Court of

*Released to the press by JACL-ADC on May 1. Presented here as a representative statement concerning Japanese American problems from the viewpoint of a Nisei organization.

the United States another opportunity to determine the legality of arbitrary and wholesale evacuation without trial or hearing. For the precedent established by these decisions, as Mr. Justice Jackson pointed out, "lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the use of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim for an urgent need!"

Hand in hand with the civil rights that were by-passed in the spring of 1942 were property rights. The evacuees were forced to liquidate their holdings without adequate government protection or supervision. Much we gave away; some we sold at a mere fraction of their real value; more was left with presumed friends who in many cases "sold us out" while we were gone; and the rest we stored in private or government warehouses of questionable quality.

Today, the government acknowledges that its facilities to protect our property were not as they should have been. Through the Interior Department, an Evacuation Claims Commission bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives. A companion bill is expected soon in the Senate.

Since the administration has acknowledged its responsibility for some of our economic losses, we urge this Committee to recommend to the Congress prompt passage of H. R. 2768, the so-called Evacuation Claims Commission bill, as a matter of common justice and good conscience.

We persons of Japanese ancestry know the meaning of a housing shortage. We were evicted from our homes and now that we are permitted to return, we find that our former accommodations are occupied by members of other minority groups. We cannot purchase or rent housing in other areas because of restrictive covenants that apply not only to us but to several others. Thus, we are forced to either evict the present occupants or to crowd in in what few facilities there are. In either case, we are not improving community relations but creating race tensions that may, unless something is done to relieve the situation, break out into ugly sores.

With members of other minorities who are the victims of this vicious and untenable private practice, we recommend that this Committee initiate action to repudiate and to void these racial restrictive covenants that violate the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution and the Federal Civil Rights Statute.

We know, too, what discrimination in employment is. We know what it means to be unacceptable to union membership, what it means to be the "last hired and the first fired", what it means to have to work harder and longer for less in wages. We know these things because we have been forced to experience them. That is why we believe in

legislation providing fair employment practices in every industry and every business.

Our veterans know that certain vocational schools refuse them admission, that other schools have unwritten quotas relating to their entrance. That is why we believe in equal educational opportunities and facilities for all, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

When we first returned to our west coast homes, we found that some persons fired upon our persons, burnt down our homes, and threatened us with violence. We know now, better than ever before, that federal authority must be extended to protect the lives, the limbs, and the property of every person everywhere in the land and that this authority must be effective when local prejudices and hatreds run rampant.

We believe in stronger, more effective Federal Civil Rights Statutes that apply to individual as well as official action, in an anti-lynching law, in any measure that protects a person against violence of any kind.

We believe, too, in the repeal of discriminatory laws based upon race, especially when these laws are used as legal bases to destroy the civil rights and liberties of a group or of an individual.

Persons of Japanese ancestry are among a few peoples who are still "ineligible to naturalization" under our federal laws. Because they are so classified, they cannot become citizens of the United States and thereby are forever barred from over a hundred different fields of employment, businesses, and professions that are closed by statutes to all aliens by various states and municipalities.

In addition to these general prohibitions aimed against all aliens, those of Japanese ancestry are subjected to several more by reason of their "ineligibility" to naturalization, a legal device whereby discrimination has been held to be constitutional.

Most damaging of these special anti-Japanese statutes are the alien land laws of some 12 western states. At the moment, California is by far the most active in attempting to escheat lands now under the control and operation of American citizens, many of whom served with distinction in the United States Army in the recent war.

Alleging violations of a law first passed in 1913 but seldom invoked until 1945, the State of California is escheating properties without compensation of any kind. The State has enacted ex post facto laws denying the use of the Statute of Limitations as a defense against

escheat; it has shifted the burden of proof from itself to the Japanese defendant in contradiction of American principles of jurisprudence.

Designed to prevent the Japanese alien from operating land, it is now being used to deprive American citizens of their properties without due process and to threaten those fundamental concepts of decent living that so many of us fought for overseas.

Under the alien land law, we citizens cannot permit our alien parents to live on the same land with us, or even in the same home. We cannot help our parents meet the ordinary expenses of living if our funds are derived from the use of land. In several cases, American citizen spouses of alien Japanese have been forced to give up their lands because such married couples have no right to cultivate those lands together.

Moreover, the State of California now contends that alien Japanese may not lawfully lease commercial or even residential property.

We believe that this law violates the Fourteenth Amendment to our Constitution and the Civil Rights Statutes because it denies to just the Japanese the "equal protection of the laws".

The Supreme Court of the United States has agreed to hear arguments on the constitutionality of the alien land law this fall. We submit that this Committee should recommend that the President direct the Attorney General to appear in this case and to declare the government's opposition to such laws as a violation of our national policy and civil rights.

This classification of "ineligibility" to naturalization is used in California to deny to Japanese aliens the right to engage in commercial fishing, as a "conservation" measure the State now contends. Japanese aliens, including the widow-mother of a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, cannot receive an old age pension in that State. Japanese parents, including many who lost their only son in battle, cannot receive relief payments from the State on the same basis as others.

And on the national scale, many Japanese aliens whose sons served in both the European and Pacific Theaters during World War II are subject to deportation. So are many Japanese aliens who contributed much to victory, in counter-intelligence, in translating and interpreting enemy documents and materials, in map drawing.

To correct grave injustices and to permit these aliens who have demonstrated their loyalty and allegiance through the years, we urge this Committee to recommend to Congress the repeal of the few remaining racial discriminations in our immigration and naturalization laws.

The passage of laws removing race as a qualification for naturalization would not only remove the "heart" from the anti-Japanese legislation of many western states but also the traditional "excuse" used in enacting such discriminatory legislation.

We are not so naive as to believe that the simple enactment or repeal of specific legislation will remove race prejudice. But we do believe that specific legislation that defines standards of conduct and provides effective penalties for violations tends to curb deliberate and malicious discrimination based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

Supplemented by proper educational campaigns that demonstrate the need for unity and good will among all segments of American life, federal legislation can be effective in the field of civil rights.

We persons of Japanese ancestry, together with other Americans of all nationalities, religions, and color, look to this Committee to protect the hard-won rights of all minorities in World War II, to enlarge those areas of opportunities that were opened up to us in wartime, and to provide safeguards for our lives, limbs, and property against the encroachment of vested interests and "hate" groups. We look to this Committee to make more real the dreams, hopes, and aspirations of the American soldier who fought and died that liberty and equality for all would be more than a catchword.

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The final reports of the War Relocation Authority may be purchased from the United States Government Printing Office.

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